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S P E C U L U M

A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

SORTES, PLATO, CICERO

Satirisches Gedicht des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts

VON HEINZ PFLAUM

EINLEITUNG

DAS nachstehend zum ersten Male mitgeteilte Gedicht hat etwas von der rätselhaften Art der Schlüsselpoesie, und dem ist es wohl zuzuschreiben, dass die bisherige Beschäftigung mit ihm jedesmal von schweren Missverständnissen begleitet war. Den Anfang macht in dieser Hinsicht der Schreiber der ältesten Hs., *cod. Par. lat. n.a. 1742*, der im Titel den Inhalt des Gedichts folgendermassen bezeichnet: 'Incipit t(ra)ctatus fr(atr)is Guido(n)is de Ma(r)chia ord(inis) mi(n)or(um) de cic(er)one disputatore & sortep(rae) dicto(r)e & pl(at)one l(e)c(t)ore.' Hier ist nun das Epitheton *disputator* zu Cicero durchaus unpassend; die Inhaltsanalyse wird deutlich machen, dass dieser Titel dem Cicero des Gedichtes auf keine Weise zukommt. Der erste Forscher, der unserm Gedicht wieder Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt hat, ist Delisle; er zitiert in seiner Beschreibung der genannten Hs.¹ den Titel des Gedichtes und die ersten beiden Strophen; der Titel ist in seiner Transkription vollends ganz sinnlos geworden: '. . . de Cicerone disputatore et sorte, predicatione et Platone lectore.' Aus dem Eigennamen *Sortes* ist also das Nomen *sors*, *sortis* geworden, *praedicator* ist verlesen und der syntaktische Zusammenhang zerrissen. Es liegt auf der Hand, dass unter diesen Umständen die beiden zitierten Strophen, die eben auf einem Wortspiel

¹ *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes* LVI (1895), 674.

mit *Sortes* und *sors* beruhen, ebenso unverständlich erscheinen wie der verderbte Titel. Dies ist denn wohl auch die Ursache davon, dass Kingsford¹ und Oligier,² die von dem Gedicht nur das kannten, was Delisle davon mitgeteilt hat, ihm literarischen Wert abgesprochen haben; mit Unrecht, denn welchen Wert kann auch ein Urteil haben, das auf Missverständnis beruht? Die zwei allein noch übrigen Erwähnungen des Gedichts haben sein Verständnis ebensowenig gefördert: gelegentlich der Beschreibung der zu Tours befindlichen Hs. des Gedichts³ werden die ersten drei Strophen mitgeteilt, ohne dass aber die Abbraviatur *Sor* (= *Sortes*) aufgelöst würde, und eine Anmerkung (von M. Dorange) gibt an: 'Nous copions ce mot tel qu'il est figuré dans le MS., sans nous trouver à même de préciser quelle interprétation peut en être proposée'; es ist nun aber klar, dass ohne die richtige Interpretation dieses Wortes das Gedicht überhaupt unverständlich ist. Die Beschreibung der Prager Hs. des Gedichts durch Truhlář⁴ zeigt dasselbe. Dort heisst es: 'fol. 274 (anepigr.) Carmen iocosum de Platone et Sorte (sic pro: *sorite*). "Sortes in consortibus . . . in pace sunt omnia." ' *Sorites* ist eine Form des Trugschlusses, der sog. Häufelschluss; mit unserm Gedicht hat er natürlich nicht das geringste zu tun; es ist eben nur ein missglückter Versuch des tschechischen Gelehrten, die Crux zu beseitigen.⁵

¹ *Fratri Johannis Peckam Tractatus Tres de Paupertate*, edd. C. L. Kingsford, A. G. Little, F. Tocco (*British Society of Franciscan Studies*, vol. II, Aberdeen, 1910, p. 151).

² P. Livarius Oligier, 'Das Streitgedicht *Mundus et Religio* in einer Prosabearbeitung des xv. Jahrhunderts' (*Collectanea Variarum Doctrinarum Leoni S. Olschki obtulerunt . . .*, München, 1921), p. 177.

³ *Catalogue Général des MSS des Bibliothèques Publiques de la France: Départements*, xxxiii (*Tours*, par G. Collon, 1ère Partie [Paris, 1900]), 287.

⁴ Jos. Truhlář, *Cat. Codicum Manuscriptorum Latinorum qui in Regia Bibliotheca Publica atque Universitatis Pragensi asservantur*, I (Prag, 1905), 1570.

⁵ Weitere Mitteilungen über unser Gedicht sind mir nicht bekannt geworden; doch scheint auch Hauréau sich damit beschäftigt zu haben. In seinem grossen noch ungedruckten Initienverzeichnis, dessen Manuskript sich in der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris befindet, fügt er nämlich den Anfangsworten und der Signatur der Pariser Hs. hinzu: 'Extraits IV 40.' Aber weder Hauréau's eigene *Notices et Extraits* (Paris, 1890-1893) noch die gleichnamige Kollektion der Académie des Inscriptions enthalten etwas bezügliches; es muss sich also um eine ungedruckte Exzerptensammlung handeln, die Hauréau angelegt hat; doch ist eine solche Sammlung, wie mir M. Omont auf meine Anfrage hin liebenswürdigerweise mitteilte, in der Pariser Nationalbibliothek nicht vorhanden. Vielleicht ist es dieselbe Exzerptensammlung Hauréau's, von der Paul Meyer, *Notice sur Barth. Hauréau* (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxxii, Paris, 1898) p. VII spricht.

Die wirklichen Schwierigkeiten des Gedichts liegen freilich nicht hier, sondern in der symbolischen Bedeutung der Personen, von denen es handelt.

I. ANALYSE DES GEDICHTS

Drei Personen werden uns vorgestellt; ihre Charakteristik ist der Inhalt des Gedichts. Diese drei sind 'Sortes, Plato und Cicero. Der Name *Sortes* erscheint auch sonst; er ist eine Verballhornung von *Socrates* (vielleicht die Kürzung *So^stes*¹ als Wort gelesen?). Der Name des Sokrates kommt seit Abälard² häufig als Beispiel in den Syllogismen der scholastischen Literatur vor. Belege für die Form *Sortes* aus der Prosaliteratur bietet Grabmann³; einen poetischen Beleg findet man in dem von Karl Strecker⁴ kürzlich veröffentlichten Gedicht 'Meum est propositum gentis imperite' (XIII. Jh.) Dort heisst es: 'Dives in fallaciis discat esse fortis, Discat capram facere de persona Sortis.'⁵ In der Anmerkung zu dieser Stelle gibt Strecker weitere Belege für *Sortes*. Das Gedicht handelt also von Sokrates, Platon und Cicero; doch bezeichnen diese drei Namen nicht die drei antiken Philosophen, sondern drei typische Figuren aus des Dichters Umwelt, denen er diese Namen in symbolischer Absicht gegeben hat. Derartige symbolische Verwendung berühmter antiker Philosophennamen ist mehrfach nachzuweisen. So enthalten die *Carmina Bu-*

¹ Man findet in Hss. sowohl *So^stes* (Cappelli, *Lexicon Abbreviatarum*, 2^e ed., Mailand, 1912, p. 357) als *So^stes* (De Wailly, *Paléographie*, Paris, 1838, I, 454).

² Abälard, *Dialectica* III., cap. *De argumentis* (*Œuvres Inédites* d'Abélard, ed. V. Cousin, Paris, 1836, p. 427): 'Alioquin et in ista consequentia "si Socrates non est asinus, est non-asinus" necessarium esset argumentum.' Da Abälard der älteste Schriftsteller ist, den Strecker (s.u.) für diesen Gebrauch des Namens Sokrates anführt, möchte ich darauf aufmerksam machen, dass schon ein halbes Jahrhundert früher Sokrates als Paradigma der Dialektik verwendet worden ist, nämlich in Berengar's von Tours *De sacra coena* (edd. A. F. et F. Th. Vischer, Berlin, 1834, *passim*). Abälards *Dialektik* ist nach dem frühesten Ansatz (von G. Robert, *Les Ecoles et l'Enseignement de la Théologie pendant la Première Moitié du 12^e Siècle*, Paris, 1909, p. 188) um 1121 verfasst, die genannte Schrift Berengar's dagegen spätestens 1075.

³ Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der Scholastischen Methode*, Bd. II. (Freiburg, 1911), p. 116, n. 1.

⁴ Karl Strecker, 'Quid dant artes nisi luctum!', *Studi Medievali, Nuova Serie*, I (1928), 380 ff.

⁵ Str. 16, v. 1-2; *loc. cit.*, p. 389. Um Syllogismen von dieser Art — und nicht um die Tierfabel (wie H. Walther, *Das Streitgedicht in der lat. Lit. des Mittelalters*, [München, 1920], p. 159, meint) — handelt es sich auch, wenn in dem Gedicht 'De Presbytero et Logico' (*Notices et Extraits*, XXXII, 1, 291) den Philosophen vorgeworfen wird: 'Sermo vester canis est, asinus et leo; Semper est de Socrate, homine tam reo.'

rana ein dialogisches Gedicht,¹ in dem zwei Geistliche sich über die Verderbtheit der römischen Kurie unterhalten; sie heissen Diogenes und Aristippus.² Im *Metalogicus*³ persifliert Johannes von Salisbury einen zeitgenössischen Sophisten, den er Cornificius nennt, also mit dem Namen des römischen Rhetors und Dialektikers, den das Mittelalter durch Makrobius⁴ kannte; Walter Mapes nennt in einem Gedichte einen Philosophen seiner Zeit Porphyrius⁵ u.s.w. Und *Sokrates* und *Plato* sind geradezu zu Gattungsnamen für Philosophen geworden; in einem alten Epitaph⁶ für Alexander von Hales (starb 1245) heisst es:

'Se totum ad Studium Parisiense tulit
Quo vel Socraticos vel summos quosque Platones
Ingenio facile dexteriore preit.'

Ebenso werden Sokrates und Plato als Exponenten der reinen Philosophie in einem Gedichte des Primas⁷ genannt:

'Ibi [in Reims] nomen non Socratis,
sed eternae Trinitatis,
non hic Plato vel Timeus,
hic auditur unus deus . . .'

Endlich verdient eine Stelle Erwähnung, aus der sich ergibt, dass alle drei Namen unseres Gedichts *zusammen* in der Dialektik verwendet wurden: In einer lateinischen Grammatik des 13. Jahrhunderts⁸ wird als Beispiel für einen zusammengesetzten Satz die Phrase gegeben: 'Sor⁹ rogat Platonem ut ipse diligit Ciceronem.'

¹ *Carmina Burana*, edd. A. Hilka et O. Schumann (Heidelberg, 1930), Nr. 189 (ed. Schmelzer, No. CLXXI).

² Dieser Name wird sogar von einem italienischen Philosophen als Beiname geführt: Evaricus Aristippus (ca. 1162), so wie es auch Gelehrte mit Namen Aristoteles und Plato gab: Johannes Aristoteli, Professor in Bologna (ca. 1380); Platone da Tivoli (ca. 1150) etc.

³ *Liber 1, cap. 1-9* (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* cxcix, 825-837).

⁴ *Saturnal.*, I, 23, 27; *Comm. in Somn. Scip.* II, 10, 10 ff.

⁵ Er erzählt von einem spitzfindigen Mönch, 'qui nostrum Porphyrium laqueo suspendit.' (*The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, ed. by Th. Wright, London, 1841, p. 28.)

⁶ Bei Franc. Gonzaga, *De Origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscanae*, (Rom, 1587), I, 126.

⁷ No. 18 Vers 53 ff. (*Die Gedichte des Primas* ed. Wilhelm Meyer, *Nachrichten der Kgl. Ges. der Wiss.*, Göttingen, 1907, Phil. hist. Kl. p. 102).

⁸ Ch. Fierville, *Une Grammaire Latine Inédite du 13^e Siècle*, (Paris, 1886), p. 29.

⁹ Diese Grammatik (oder ihr Herausgeber?) schreibt meist *Sor*, gelegentlich *Socrates*; einmal stehen absunderweise beide Formen nebeneinander: 'Sor legit Lucanum; Lucanus legitur a Socrate.'

Von der Biographie und Persönlichkeit der grossen antiken Philosophen wusste man einiges, besonders durch verschiedene Exzerpte aus Diogenes Laertius, der um 1160 ins Lateinische übersetzt worden war¹ und dessen Nachrichten auch im XIV. Jahrhundert Walter Burleigh in *De vita et moribus Philosophorum*² bearbeitet hat. So hat denn unser Dichter die Namen jedenfalls der beiden griechischen Denker passend gewählt, d.h. passend zu deren traditionellem Bilde. Sokrates heisst sein Praedicator, weil er wie dieser unermüdlich auf den Beinen ist, auf Strassen und Plätzen seine Lehre mitteilt, ein Genosse der Armen, nicht belastet durch öffentliche Aemter, und dabei ein ärmliches Leben, ein Leben ohne allen Komfort, mit stoischer, besser: kynischer Genügsamkeit führt. 'Sokratisch' ist dem Dichter überhaupt gleich 'frugal,' wie ein Vers des Gedichts (9, 3) zeigt: 'quieti socratice paratur hospitium.' Sokratisch ist es denn auch, wie der genügsame Vagabund, der nach den feineren Genüssen des Luxus nicht fragt, dafür die derberen Freuden der Welt, den Wein, den Schmaus und die Liebe geniesst. Plato dagegen ist als Schulhaupt aufgefasst, d.h. der mittelalterliche Professor wird durch den würdevollen Vorstand der Akademie symbolisiert, der nicht auf der Gasse meditiert, sondern im Hörsaal doziert; seine gewaltige Disputierkunst mag in Platons dialogischer Produktion eine Analogie finden. Und so wie die Wendung *socraticum hospitium* so hat auch *platonium consortium* bei unserm Dichter einen generellen Sinn, nämlich den von heiterer, gebildeter Geselligkeit, wie sie im *Symposion* erscheint; an der oben angeführten Stelle (9, 4) fährt er fort: 'nec Sortes platonice sortitur consorcium.' So ist denn für den Praedicator und den Lector jedenfalls der eine oder andere charakteristische Zug aus dem Bilde ihrer grossen Paten verwendet, der die Namengebung rechtfertigt: für den einen vor allem des Sokrates Vagabundieren, für den andern Platons akademische Würde.

Woher aber schreibt sich der Name 'Cicero'? Um die Wahl des Namens aus den Eigenschaften der so bezeichneten Person zu verstehen, muss man sich einen Cicero vorstellen, der, müssig in seinem Tuskulum sitzend, sich's gut sein lässt, übrigens mehr Jurist und

¹ Vgl. Val. Rose in *Hermes* I (1866) 376 ff.

² *Bibl. des Literar. Vereins*, Stuttgart, 1886.

Beamter als Philosoph und also dem Sokrates und Plato in philosophischen Dingen nicht ebenbürtig, während er sie gleichwohl durchhehelt und aburteilt. Seine Mässigkeit im Essen und Trinken gefällt dem lebenslustigen, freiheitliebenden Scholaren, der das Gedicht verfasst hat, ebensowenig wie sein sittenrichterliches, doktrinär autoritatives Wesen, seine Streitsucht. Er ist, so findet der Dichter, weder Fisch noch Fleisch: auf Ehren und Würden erpicht gleich Plato, ist er so wenig wie Sokrates geneigt, die Mühen eines akademischen Amtes auf sich zu nehmen. Das ergibt denn nun freilich ein reichlich schiefes Bild von der Persönlichkeit des grossen Redners, und es ist überhaupt merkwürdig, dass ein derartig unfreundlich gezeichneter Charakter den Namen des allgemein bewunderten Cicero trägt — war doch Cicero seit der karolingischen Renaissance als grösster Prosaiker durchgängig anerkannt.¹ Man muss vielleicht annehmen, dass hier die Polemik der patristischen Schriftsteller wie Laktanz² einwirkt, die sich oft in scharfer Weise gegen Cicero wendet, sowie auch die Tatsache, dass man von Cicero nur die dialektischen und rhetorischen Schriften besass. Im übrigen war es, was Cicero betrifft, dem Dichter anscheinend genug an einer vagen Analogie zwischen der Person und ihrem Namen.

Soviel also über die Namengebung! *Thema* des Gedichtes ist (um es zunächst ganz allgemein zu sagen) die Charakteristik dreier nach Tätigkeit, Lebensweise, Rang und Naturell untereinander sehr verschiedener Personen, die Sortes, Plato und Cicero benannt sind. In dem *ersten*, dem längsten Teile des Gedichts (Str. 1–22) sind es Sortes und Plato, die charakterisiert werden, und zwar durch eine Reihe von Kontrastierungen; jede Strophe enthält einen oder auch zwei Züge, in denen die beiden sich unterscheiden. Solche antithetische Charakteristik wurde im rhetorisch-dialektischen Schulunterricht des Mittelalters besonders geübt; Beispiele findet man nicht nur in zahlreichen Streitgedichten, sondern auch in den *Artes Poeticae* wie im *Laborintus* des Everardus Alemannus.³ Der *zweite* Teil des Gedichts

¹ Vgl. Paul Schwenke, 'Hadoards Cicero-Exzerpte,' *Philologus*, Supplementband v (1886) p. 397–588, bes. p. 404.

² Migne, *Patrol. lat.* vi, 135, 263, 297, 351, 386, 410, 441, 536.

³ Vers 275 ff. (ed. Faral, *Les Arts Poétiques du 12^e et du 13^e Siècle*, Paris, 1924, p. 346).

(Str. 23–34) schildert dann, was Cicero von den beiden andern unterscheidet, was ihm mit Sortes gegen Plato, mit Plato gegen Sortes gemeinsam ist. Die Schlussstrophe endlich drückt den Wunsch des Dichters nach Ausgleich dieser Gegensätze aus. Belebt ist dies etwas dürre Schema durch den burlesk-pathetischen Ton des Ganzen und durch die drastische Komik der Antithesen. Dies rhetorische Mittel verwendet der Dichter mit viel Geschick; hierin vor allem liegt der nicht geringe literarische Reiz seines Gedichts. Der Wertakzent, mit dem die Charakterbilder gezeichnet sind, ist für Plato und Sortes nahezu gleich: beide haben einige Mängel und bedeutende Vorzüge, doch steht der erstere im Urteil des Dichters im ganzen doch höher. Cicero hingegen ist ganz negativ gesehen: er hat die Mängel der beiden anderen und keinen ihrer Vorzüge.

Wir haben nun diese drei Charakterbilder im einzelnen anzusehen und ihre Deutung zu versuchen.

Sortes symbolisiert, so scheint uns, den Bettelmönch und Wanderprediger, also den Stand, den in den ersten Jahrzehnten des XIII. Jahrhunderts die neugegründeten Orden der Dominikaner und der Franziskaner geschaffen haben. So heisst es denn von Sortes in den verschiedensten Wendungen, dass er 'läuft' (*currit*), zu Fuss, ohne Pferd und Wagen, in Schnee, Regen und Sturm oder in der Sonnenglut durchzieht er das Land. Eine systematische Vorbereitung auf sein Predigeramt hat er nicht erhalten (5, 4),¹ theologische Gelehrsamkeit fehlt ihm denn auch (18, 4). Sein Predigen ist die praktisch-theologische und -moralische Verarbeitung der akademischen, philosophisch-theologischen Forschung (Str.13), deren Verständnis ihm freilich nicht leicht fällt (14, 4). Er ist Popularisator, kein selbständiger Kopf; das Thema seiner Predigt nimmt er fix und fertig mit auf den Weg (16, 3), und natürlich braucht er nicht zu fürchten, dass jemand ihm widerspricht, wenn er predigt (20, 3 f.). Für seine Mängel entschädigt sein Eifer; er plackt sich ab, wie er kann. Das Leben solch eines Wanderpredigers ist ja freilich schwer genug. Die Mühen des Weges (32, 2) und die Unbilden der Witterung (4, 1), dieselbe rauhe Kutte im Sommer und im Winter (5, 2), mageres Essen und ein

¹ Im folgenden sind die Nummern von Versen im allgemeinen nur dann angegeben, wenn die Analyse eine besondere Interpretation der betreffenden Stellen zur Voraussetzung hat.

hartes Bett (8, 3), dazu den Spott der Gelehrten (9, 4) muss er ertragen. Es ist ein Leben von Tag zu Tage, von der Hand in den Mund (10, 1), bar der Ehren und Würden (11, 1). Aber dies Leben hat auch seine Freuden, die dem gelehrten Stubenhocker nicht zu teil werden. Mit offenen, unverbildeten Sinnen genießt er das Angenehme dieser Welt (15, 3f.): seine Freizügigkeit (16, 3), Gesundheit und langes Leben (16, 4 f.), Gastfreundschaft (19, 2), Bacchus und Venus (17, 2; 18, 4).

Dieser neue Sokrates ist also — ganz wie manche andere Mönche seiner Zeit — ein loser Vogel, der es mit der Regel des hl. Franziskus nicht sehr genau nimmt; er hat eben ein weites Gewissen (18, 3), und der Dichter — ganz nach Scholarenart — findet nichts dabei. Seine Schilderung des Sortes ist von einem reizenden Humor und vom behaglichsten Wohlwollen erfüllt, und nur am Schluss (35, 1) lässt er einen leisen Verweis hören. Im ganzen aber hält er dafür (33, 1 f.), dass auch dieser schlichte Knecht Gottes mit seinem Pfunde wuchert, und er gibt sich der Hoffnung hin (11, 3), dass der geduldige Kämpfer das Paradies offen finden werde.

Plato, der würdevoll und tiefgründig *ex cathedra* disputiert, scheint mir deutlich als *lector* gekennzeichnet, d.h. als Professor an einer Universität oder einer Klosterschule. Bekanntlich hatten die Dominikaner gleich nach der Approbation ihres Ordens (1216) und bald darauf auch die Franziskaner — sehr gegen den Willen ihres Stifters¹ — sich den Wissenschaften zugewandt, sodass in den folgenden Jahrzehnten, teils innerhalb der Universitäten, teils in Verbindung mit ihnen, dominikanische und franziskanische *Studia* entstanden. Erst verhältnismässig spät nahmen die übrigen Orden diese Tendenzen auf: noch gegen Ende des XIII. Jahrhunderts hiessen die beiden genannten Orden *ordines studentes*² κατ' ἐξοχήν. Einem dieser beiden Orden gehört also jedenfalls unser Plato an, und da der Verfasser selbst Franziskaner war, so ist anzunehmen, dass auch Plato als diesem Orden angehörig gedacht ist.

¹ Dies die, m. E. richtige, Meinung von Paul Sabatier, *Vie de S. François d'Assise*, (Paris, 1894), p. 318 ff. P. Hilarin Felder, *Geschichte der Wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden bis um die Mitte des 13. Jhdts.*, (Freiburg, 1904), sucht dagegen den hl. Franziskus selbst als den Wissenschaften geneigt darzustellen.

² Dieser Ausdruck bei Roger Bacon, *Compendium Studii Philosophici* ed. Brewer, (London, 1859), p. 426.

In der Charakteristik des Mendikanten-Professors sind Respekt vor dem hohen Stande des akademischen Lehrers und Ironie wunderlich gemischt. Sie legt besonders nahe, als Verfasser des Gedichts einen Scholaren anzunehmen, dem eben die Gelehrsamkeit und der dialektische Scharfsinn seiner Professoren Achtung und Bewunderung einflößen, der sich aber auch gern über sie lustig macht: wäre der Dichter damals selbst Lektor gewesen, so würde der Spott über Platos Schwächen wohl fehlen; auch würde er dann wohl nicht (Str. 7 und 9) betonen, dass Lector und Praedicator von Natur und vor Gott gleich sind und also (muss man schliessen) zu den gleichen Ansprüchen ans Leben berechtigt sind. Dass aber der Verfasser selbst Praedicator wäre, schliesst schon seine höhere Wertung des akademischen Standes (besonders Str. 12) aus.

Die Schilderung der wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit Platos stimmt mit dem, was wir sonst vom mittelalterlichen Universitätswesen wissen, gut überein, während die Beschreibung seiner Persönlichkeit und seiner Lebensweise unserer Kenntnis des Lebens an den alten Universitäten eine Anzahl neuer charakteristischer Züge hinzufügt.

Der Professor ist auf sein Amt durch lange Jahre gründlich vorbereitet (5, 3). Seine hauptsächlich öffentlichen Funktionen sind die *Disputatio* und die *Lectio*.¹ Für die *Disputatio* (1, 3; 2, 1; Str. 20; 29, 4) erinnert er in angestrenzter Arbeit im Voraus das 'problema' (16, 2), das dann seine Schüler unter seinem Vorsitz kontradiktorisch erörtern (30, 3). Die *Lectio* erstreckt sich auf die verschiedensten Fächer. Es war nämlich bis Ende des xiv. Jahrhunderts üblich, dass alle Dozenten einer Fakultät die Textbücher — und das heisst auch die Studienfächer — zu Anfang des Semesters so unter sich verteilten, dass im Turnus jeder einmal über jedes Buch zu lesen hatte.² Im allgemeinen behandelt Plato die philosophischen Fächer, d.h. diejenigen, über die es Schriften vom 'Philosophus' (14, 2), d.i. Aristoteles, gab: also neben Logik und Metaphysik auch Physik, Kosmologie, etc. (1, 4; 3, 7; 7, 1; 10, 3; 14, 2; 32, 1). Eine Ausnahme hiervon bezeichnet nur 14, 1: 'dum Plato vult legere Genesisim vel Exodum,' was auf

¹ Ueber *Lectio* und *Disputatio* vgl. besonders M. Grabmann, *Geschichte d. Schol. Meth.* (loc. cit.), Indices.

² Masius in Schmid's *Geschichte der Erziehung*, Bd. II, Abt. 1, (Stuttgart, 1892), p. 430.

die Theologie zu deuten scheint.¹ Aber die *Genesis* liess sich ja auch für Kosmologie heranziehen, und das Buch *Exodus* kann der Lektor auch aus historischem Interesse zur Interpretation wählen. Uebrigens mochten überhaupt — entsprechend dem Grundzug scholastischer Methodik — Philosophie und Theologie in der akademischen Praxis lange nicht so geschieden sein wie im Studienprogramm.² Platos wesentliche Aufgabe ist jedenfalls der Unterricht in der Philosophie.

Anschaulicher als die Tätigkeit des Professors ist seine Lebensweise geschildert. Sein Leben ist — insbesondere im Vergleich zu dem des Wanderpredigers — reich an Ehren und Annehmlichkeiten. Er erhält den obersten Platz an der Tafel (6, 2); er geniesst den Umgang der Vornehmen und wird mit öffentlichen Aemtern bekleidet (11, 2). Seinen Bruder, den armen Sortes, darf er von oben herab abkanzeln (2, 4; 9, 3 f.). Er trägt feines Leinen und einen prächtigen Talar (5, 1); natürlich streicht er Kollegiangelder ein (6, 1). Wo Sortes sät, da erntet er (7, 3 f.); das heisst wohl: die jungen Leute, die Sortes durch sein Predigen dem Orden und also auch dem Studium gewinnt, bringen dem Professor Gewinn ein. Er kann sich auch an geistvoller Geselligkeit erfreuen (8, 4).

Aber man muss auch die Kehrseite der Medaille betrachten. Man sollte es kaum glauben, was der Herr Professor für ein geplagter Mann ist. Das Nachdenken raubt ihm den Schlaf (20, 2); die Gicht und alle andern Gebrechen des Stubenhockers plagen ihn (16, 1). Die Freuden des Weines sind nicht für ihn (25, 1). Bleichen Angesichts windet er sich in seiner Stube (21, 1), um neue und sublimen Gedanken aus sich herauszupressen. Immer wühlt die Angst in seinen Eingeweiden (21, 2), denn er hat höchst kritische Zuhörer: wenn er ihren Erwartungen nicht entspricht, so reagieren sie mit Zischen und Murren (4, 3; 19, 4). Seine unterjochten Sinne rächen

¹ Vers 12, 3: 'pociori opere vacat cum Jheronimo,' der gleichfalls Biblexegese andeutet, ist sicher interpoliert, da von den fünf Versen, die Str. 12 unregelmässigerweise hat, nur dieser Vers ohne Störung des Sinnes entbehrt werden kann; er fehlt auch in der Prager Handschrift. Uebrigens lässt sich der Hinweis auf Hieronymus auch als Anspielung auf Geschichtswissenschaft deuten, da Hieronymus ja allgemein als der Vater der christlichen Historiographie galt.

² Mit Recht betont M. De Wulf, *Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale*, 5e éd., (Louvain, 1924), I, 65-66, 'le mélange de certaines matières et de certains arguments philosophiques avec les matières et les arguments théologiques.'

sich: sie quälen ihn mit unziemlichen Tagträumen und Wunschbildern (18, 2). Lange kann ein solches Leben nicht währen (17, 4). Plato ist eben, mit einem Wort, der Prototyp des überanstrengten, nervösen Kopfarbeiters. Seine Charakteristik, die zu der des Sortes in effektvollem und komischem Kontrast steht, ist als eine originale Leistung anzusprechen.

Von Cicero empfangen wir ein weit weniger präzises Bild als von den beiden andern. Und man gewinnt den Eindruck, dass dies nicht zufällig so ist: die beiden ersten Charakteristiken enthalten zwar auch einige negative Züge; aber bei ihnen ist doch nur gutmütiger Spott, freundschaftliche Neckerei im Spiel. Aber Cicero ist durchaus feindselig aufgefasst. Der Typus oder die Persönlichkeit, die er vertritt, ist dem Dichter schlechterdings verhasst; darum wohl mochte dieser — aus Vorsicht oder aus Takt — nicht allzu deutlich sein. Was wir von Cicero erfahren, ist also im wesentlichen nur dies: nach seiner Lebensweise steht er in der Mitte zwischen Sortes und Plato. Bald tummelt er sich im Freien wie Sortes, bald hockt er im Hause wie Plato, ganz nach seinem Belieben. Er ist masslos faul, kuschelt sich ins Körbchen wie ein Schosshündchen (26, 4); dabei ist er aber doch ehrstüchtig. Er spielt sich als Herrn auf: Sortes und Plato, die Tätigen, Verdienstvollen, müssen sich vor ihm, dem Untätigen, Unbegabten, ducken; er urteilt sie ab (27, 4) und schreibt ihnen ihre Tätigkeit vor, obwohl nichts ihn dazu berechtigt (Str. 29). Selbst Plato, den scharfen Disputator, steckt er in die Tasche (30, 4): er raubt den Menschen die Ruhe (31, 4). Störrisch wie ein Esel (26, 3) und brutal wie ein Nashorn (32, 3 f.) geht er seinen Weg; dabei ist er so verweichlicht, dass er derbe Speisen und Bier nicht verträgt (24, 1 f.). Er gleicht dem trägen Knecht des Evangeliums, der das anvertraute Geld seines Herrn im Boden vergräbt, anstatt es auf Zins zu legen (33, 3 f.). Er ist der 'Vicarius' der beiden andern, aber ohne ihre Verdienste (25, 4).

Was bedeutet nun all dies von Cicero Gesagte? Sortes und Plato waren leicht zu definieren: der eine ist Wanderprediger, der andere Professor. Was aber ist Cicero? Fest steht zunächst: diese Figur muss so gedeutet werden, dass nicht nur die angeführten Eigenschaften auf sie zutreffen, sondern dass sie auch mit den beiden andern zu-

sammen eine organische Gruppe bildet; die drei müssen aufeinander einen sachlichen Bezug haben. Da bietet sich nun diese Erklärung an: Alle drei sind Mitglieder des Franziskanerordens, (dem auch der Dichter angehörte); Plato und Sortes symbolisieren die beiden traditionellen Haupttätigkeiten der Mendikanten, Unterricht und Predigt, so wie noch heute in allen Franziskanerklöstern die Brüder in *Lectores* und *Praedicatores* eingeteilt werden; Cicero ist keins von beiden, sondern etwas höheres: er ist Prior, Guardian eines Klosters oder gar einer 'Provinz' (wie die Landsmannschaften bekanntlich in vielen Orden genannt werden), vielleicht auch Rektor der Schule, der Sortes und Plato angehören. Der Ausdruck *amborum vicarius* (25, 4) stimmt hierzu sehr gut. 'Vicarius,' ein Titel, der im Mittelalter verschiedenen Staatsbeamten, Magistratspersonen, auch Richtern zukam,¹ hat im Franziskanerorden zu allen Zeiten speziell einen Oberen bezeichnet. So erklärt sich die Macht, die im Gedicht Cicero über die beiden andern hat, wie auch dies, dass er weder die Tätigkeit des *Lectors*, noch die des *Praedicatoris* ausübt. Er überwacht, setzt ein und setzt ab, tyrannisiert, spaziert herum oder liegt auf der Bank; zu tun hat er nichts — das ist das Bild, das sich der junge Klosterbruder von seinem Oberen macht; es ist die Einstellung, die der Untergebene so oft gegenüber seinem Vorgesetzten hat, besonders aber die Goliarden gegenüber der geistlichen Obrigkeit.

Ausser 'Vicarius' ist übrigens noch ein Ausdruck da, der sich speziell auf die Verhältnisse des Ordens beziehen lässt und so unsere Auffassung stützt: 'medius in ordine' (31, 1); d.h. dann also 'er (Cicero) nimmt eine Mittelstellung (zwischen *Lector* und *Praedicator*) im Orden ein'; und auch der Vers (23, 1) 'inter istos medius *admiscetur* Cicero' ('ist unter die andern gemischt') scheint deutlich darauf anzuspielen, dass Cicero gleichfalls dem Orden angehört.² Man versteht auch, warum der Dichter in bezug auf Cicero nicht deutlicher gewesen ist: wo es sich um einen Höheren handelte, war grössere Behutsamkeit im Ausdruck geboten. Und vielleicht hängt es hiermit zusammen, dass der Titel des Gedichts, (der nur in der Pariser Hs.

¹ Vgl. Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, sub voce.

² Ueber Vers 32, 4, worin, wie es scheint, auf die Mitra angespielt wird, wie sie von Aebten und Bischöfen getragen wurde, vgl. unten den Kommentar zur Stelle.

steht) dem Cicero ein so unpassendes Epitheton gibt: *De Cicerone disputatore et Sorte praedicatorum et Platone lectore*. Das Wort *disputator* hat nie ein bestimmtes Amt oder dergleichen bezeichnet, sondern immer nur einen Menschen, der gerade mit Disputieren beschäftigt ist, und kann also ebensowenig einen Titel abgeben wie unsere Worte 'Vorredner,' 'Fragesteller,' 'Absender' u.s.w. Es ist also wohl möglich, dass das harmlose, aber unpassende Wort 'disputator' in Vertretung eines in diesem Zusammenhang verfänglicheren Titels wie 'Prior,' 'Vicarius,' 'Guardianus' oder dergl. eingeschmuggelt ist, vielleicht unter Einwirkung der im XII. Jhd. von Petrus Cantor¹ eingeführten parallelen Gruppierung von *Lectio*, *Disputatio* und *Praedictio*, (die sich aber bei ihm nur auf die Beschäftigung mit der Heiligen Schrift bezieht, während in unserem Gedicht diese Worte unzweifelhaft einen allgemeineren Sinn haben).

So gedeutet, stellt sich das Gedicht *Sortes Plato Cicero* als die humoristisch-satirische Charakteristik der drei Mönchstypen dar, aus denen sich der Franziskanerorden² zusammensetzt: *Professor*, *Wanderprediger*, *Prior*. Das Gedicht rückt damit in die Nachbarschaft der zahlreichen Dichtungen, die einen Rangstreit zwischen den verschiedenen geistlichen Ständen, zwischen den einzelnen Mönchsorden, zwischen Scholar und Pfründner, 'Logiker' und 'Presbyter' etc. enthalten und die H. Walther³ zusammengestellt und besprochen hat.

Wir können jedoch diesen Teil der Untersuchung nicht abschließen, ohne zuvor die Frage noch aufzuwerfen, ob es sich in unserm Gedicht tatsächlich nur um die Schilderung von Typen handelt oder nicht vielmehr um die Porträts dreier bestimmter Personen aus des Dichters Umwelt, so dass wir es mit einem eigentlichen Schlüsselgedicht zu tun hätten. Mit dieser Möglichkeit müssen wir durchaus rechnen, wenngleich wir, wie die Dinge liegen, wohl kaum eine Hoffnung haben, diese drei Personen je identifizieren zu können. Aber zuviel dürfen wir in den Begriff des individuellen Porträts bei unserem

¹ Petrus Cantor, *Verbum Abbreviatum*, cap. 1 (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* ccv, 25).

² Sämtliche Angaben des Gedichts treffen freilich ebenso auf die Dominikaner wie auf die Franziskaner zu. Wenn wir es dennoch auf den letzteren Orden speziell beziehen, so geschieht das vor allem, weil der Verfasser selbst Franziskaner war.

³ H. Walther, *Das Streitgedicht in der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (= *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters* II, München, 1920), p. 158 ff.

Gedicht auch nicht hineinlegen. Das Wichtigste war für den Dichter gewiss nicht die originalgetreue Zeichnung, sondern eben die Herausarbeitung des Typischen, Ueberindividuellen. Hatte er wirklich drei Männer seiner Bekanntschaft bei der Abfassung im Auge, so hat er jedenfalls ihre persönlichen Züge weitgehend verwischt, um statt dessen alle die hervortreten zu lassen, die für Tätigkeit und Lebensweise der Dargestellten und also auch für alle anderen Kleriker mit gleichen Lebensbedingungen charakteristisch sein konnten; die künstlerische Absicht ging beim Dichter des *Sortes* wie bei einem Rutebeuf, einem Freidank und so vielen anderen dahin, gewisse allgemeine Erscheinungen seiner Zeit im Zerrspiegel einzufangen. Von einer Personenbeschreibung forderte die mittelalterliche Poetik, dass sie präzise Angaben über des Dargestellten Rang, Alter, Ort, Gestalt, Nation u. s. w. enthalte;¹ in der Charakteristik des *Sortes*, des *Plato* und des *Cicero* aber fehlen gerade solche speziellen Angaben, sozusagen die Personalien, völlig. Wenn es in der Stadt, in der das Gedicht entstand, zehn Professoren, zehn Wanderprediger und zehn Aebte gab, so konnte wohl auch ein Mitbürger des Dichters schwerlich aus dem Gedicht erraten, wer von diesen nun *Sortes*, wer *Plato* und wer *Cicero* sei. Wenn also wirklich individuelle Porträts dem Gedicht zugrundeliegen, so sind diese Porträts jedenfalls zu Typengemälden ausgestaltet und müssen als solche beurteilt werden.

II. ZUR FORM DES GEDICHTS

Die in unserem Gedichte verwendete Strophe ($4 \times 7 \sim - a + 7 \sim - b$, d. h. acht trochäische Siebensilbler mit zwei gekreuzten Reimen) ist auffallend selten;² sie findet sich genau so, soweit ich sehe, nur gelegentlich bei *Abälard*³ und bei *Adam von Skt. Viktor*,⁴ ferner (jedoch erweitert um einen Refrain) in zwei Gedichten *Walthers von Châtill-*

¹ Matthieu de Vendôme, *Ars versificatoria* (ed. Faral, *Arts Poétiques*), I, 141-92.

² Das Gedicht *Carmina Burana* ed. Hilka-Schumann Nr. 124 (Schmeller Nr. LXXXVII) *Dum Philippus*, das Wilh. Meyer, *Ges. Abh. zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik*, (Berlin, 1905) I, 305, als einziges Beispiel für diesen Strophenbau anführt, gehört nicht hierher, da es nicht (wie Meyer sagt) aus einer vierzeiligen Strophe, sondern in Wahrheit aus einer sechszeiligen besteht.

³ *Abälard, Planctus II* (ed. Migne, *Patr. lat.* CLXXVIII, 1818), Vers 1-8 (nur zwei Strophen!).

⁴ *Œuvres poétiques d'Adam de St Victor*, ed. L. Gautier (Paris, 1858), I, 18; I, 133.

lon¹ und (unter Hinzugütigung zweier anders gereimter Zeilen) in Nr. 47 der von Flacius Illyricus² gedruckten Motette. Die dieser Strophe zugrundeliegende Zeile, die Verbindung zweier trochäischer ('steigender') Siebensilbler, war zwar weit weniger beliebt als die eigentliche 'Vagantenzeile,' ist aber (obwohl schwieriger zu handhaben) doch auch nicht selten verwandt worden,³ besonders, wie mir scheint, in Frankreich. Taktwechsel, den ja manche Dichter, besonders in trochäischen Reihen, soweit wie möglich zu vermeiden gesucht haben, zeigen die 140 Verse unseres Gedichtes sowohl in der ersten wie in der zweiten Vershälfte ausserordentlich oft, nämlich 81 mal,⁴ Hiatus an sieben Stellen. Zu kurze oder zu lange Verse oder Strophen kommen nicht vor; nur Strophe 12 zählt gerade in den beiden besseren Hss. *N* und *T* fünf Verse, jedoch jedenfalls auf Grund von Interpolation. Die von W. Meyer⁵ als 'daktylischer Wortschluss im Taktwechsel' bezeichnete Erscheinung, d.h. die Verwendung eines Proparoxytonons vor einem mit betonter Silbe beginnenden Worte (wie *dinúmerat pluries* 3, 2; in *váriis finibus* 15, 2), eine Lizenz, die im allgemeinen verpönt war,⁶ findet sich nicht weniger als neunmal; der an sich seltene⁷ Fall eines zweisilbigen Wortes am Ende eines steigenden Versschlusses kommt einmal vor (4, 4 in *Silo*).⁸ Rührender Reim (*rime riche*, z.B. *loquitur: prosequitur* 2, 1-2) ist häufig (16 Fälle, darunter ein vierzeiliger⁹), gleichfalls eine Eigenschaft, die sich

¹ O 3 und O 33 (*Die Gedichte Walters von Chatillon*, hsgg. von K. Strecker, Heft 1, [Berlin, 1925] p. 4 und p. 61 f.) Walter liebt überhaupt den steigenden Siebensilbler und verwendet ihn auch sonst oft, freilich mit anderen Versarten kombiniert.

² Flacius Illyricus, *De corrupto ecclesiae statu poemata*, (Augsburg, 1754), p. 18 ff.

³ Zum Beispiel Abälard, *Hymn.* ed. Migne (*loc. cit.*), Nr. 56-59; Archipoeta ed. Manitius (München, 1913) Nr. 4; *Carm. Bur.* ed. Hilka-Schumann Nr. 127 (Schmeller Nr. LXXXIX); Adam de St Victor, II, 252; Flac. III. Nr. 18; *Liebeskonzil von Remiremont* (ed. Wilh. Meyer, *Nachr. der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1914 I 1 ff.) u.s.w. (Es versteht sich, dass die hier von mir genannten Stücke nur in ihrem Versmass, nicht aber in ihrem Reimschema mit unserem Gedicht übereinstimmen.)

⁴ Davon 33 mal in dreisilbigen Worten am Beginn eines Halbverses (wie 'Platónis in manibus' 1, 3), was nach W. Meyer, *Ges. Abh.* [cit.] I 264 oft auch in solchen Gedichten, die an sich Taktwechsel zulassen, vermieden wird.

⁵ *loc. cit.*, I, 265-9.

⁶ Vgl. Karl Strecker, *Einführung in das Mittelalter*, (Berlin, 1928), p. 28.

⁷ Strecker, *Cambridge Lieder* (Berlin, 1929), p. 115 Anm.

⁸ Doch wurde dies Wort vielleicht, wie im Hebräischen, oxytonisch gebraucht.

⁹ Str. 1, *consorcio: dispensacio: disputacio: demonstracio* (Hier also zugleich auch dreisilbiger Reim in drei Zeilen; siehe unten).

besonders bei Gedichten aus Frankreich findet. Die beliebte Spielerei, (die in der *Poetik* des Geoffroi de Vinsauf¹ ausdrücklich empfohlen wird), mehrere Composita desselben Wortstammes im Reim zu binden (z.B. *prefero:infero*) ist zweimal durch alle vier Reime einer Strophe durchgeführt (Str. 2 und Str. 29). Dreiseilbiger Reim, den, wie es scheint, die romanischen Dichter besonders lieben, findet sich in nicht weniger als fünf Strophen; alle übrigen Reime sind zweisilbig ('leoninisch'); einsilbige Wörter erscheinen nicht im Reim. Die von Wilhelm Meyer² aufgestellte Regel, wonach Wiederholung desselben Reims in mehrstrophigen Gedichten möglichst vermieden wird, ist in unserm Gedicht, wie übrigens in so vielen anderen, nicht beachtet: gewisse Reime kehren bis zu achtmal wieder. Die Reime des Gedichts sind nach mittelalterlicher Auffassung sämtlich rein.³ Mit Vorliebe ist Allitteration verwendet (vgl. besonders 5, 3 b; 14, 4 a; Str. 24). In stilistischer Hinsicht ist der antithetische Bau der meisten Strophen sowie die Neigung zu Wortspielen und zu mehrfacher Wiederholung desselben Wortes oder Wortstammes hervorzuheben.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass der Dichter (was für einen Romanen typisch ist) die formalen Verzierungen (rührender Reim, dreisilbiger Reim, Allitteration, Wortspiel, Wortwiederholung, reimbildende Komposita, Antithese) aufsucht, das er hingegen die strengeren prosodischen Regeln (Vermeidung von Hiatus, daktylischem Wortschluss, Taktwechsel, Wiederholung des Reims) nicht beachtet.

III. DER VERFASSER DES GEDICHTS

Ein Verfasser wird nur in der Pariser Hs. (N) angegeben, und zwar 'frater Guido de Marchia ordinis Minorum.' Was wir von diesem Manne wissen, ist wenig.⁴ Guy de la Marche war ein vorehelicher

¹ Geoffroi de Vinsauf, *Poetria Nova*, Vers 1812 ff. (bei Faral, *Les Arts Poétiques*, p. 252 f.).

² *Nachrichten der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 1907, Phil.-hist. Kl., p. 168 ff.

³ Es kommen also Reime wie *anziē: patrię* oder *hominis: crastinę* vor, aber nicht solche wie (*Archipoeta* I, 21) *verecundo: precum do* oder (*ibid.* III, 6) *decor: mechor*, oder *gar* (*Primas* III, 26 [ed. W. Meyer, p. 121]) *sumpta: Acerunta*.

⁴ Vgl. Hauréau in: *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXIX, (Paris, 1885), p. 552-557. Alle älteren Notizen über Guy, von Wadding, Sbaralea, Bale, Pits, Tanner, Fabricius, (sämtlich bei Chevalier, *Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Age*, *Biobibliographie*, nouv. éd., I, [Paris, 1905], col. 2009-2010 angeführt) sind wertlos.

Sohn Hugos, zwölften Grafen von Angoulême. Da Hugo XII 1257 geheiratet hat, ist Guy vor diesem Datum geboren. In einem päpstlichen Schreiben von 1291 wird dem Guy de la Marche, 'presbytero ordinis Minorum' wegen seiner Gelehrsamkeit und sittlichen Qualitäten das Recht gegeben, trotz des Makels seiner Geburt alle höheren Aemter im Franziskanerorden, dem er seit langem angehört, zu bekleiden, mit Ausnahme des höchsten, des Amts eines Ordensgenerals. Von Bale¹ erfahren wir noch, dass Guy Doktor der Philosophie war, und aus der Bezeichnung 'Guido de Marchia Pictaviensis' im Inhaltsverzeichnis der Hs. N lässt sich schliessen, das Guy im Franziskanerstudium zu Poitiers dozierte. Aus dem Inhalt des angeführten Schreibens geht hervor, dass Guy damals in reiferem Alter stand. Wann er starb, darüber lässt sich nicht das geringste vermuten, und Kingsford hat Unrecht, wenn er sagt,² dass Guy wahrscheinlich um 1315 starb; denn Hauréau, auf den sich Kingsford hierfür beruft, bringt, wie der Zusammenhang deutlich ergibt, die Notiz über Guy ausschliesslich deswegen zum Jahre 1315, weil er als Terminus ad quem für die Abfassung der *Disputatio mundi et Religionis*, die er dem Guy zuschreibt, das Jahr der Aufhebung des Templerordens (1312) annimmt. Setzt man aber den Terminus ad quem der *Disputatio* bis 1270 herauf oder spricht sie dem Guy gar ab (was Kingsford beides tut), so fehlt der Ansetzung des Jahres 1315 als mutmassliches Todesjahr Guys jegliche Basis. Wir haben also festzustellen, dass wir nur dies wissen: Guy wurde vor 1257 geboren und starb nach 1291.³

Ist nun Guy tatsächlich als Verfasser des Gedichtes *Sortes, Plato, Cicero* anzusprechen? Das muss zunächst als sehr zweifelhaft erscheinen, und zwar aus folgendem Grunde. In zwei Handschriften, T(ours) und P(rag), ist das Gedicht anonym überliefert, nur in N(=Paris, Bibl. Nat. n.a. lat. 1742) unter Guys Namen. Die Hs. N enthält nun noch ein anderes Gedicht, als dessen Verfasser sie Guy

¹ *Scriptorum illustrium Majoris Britanniae Catalogus*, (Ipswich, 1548), cent. XII art. 16.

² Johannes Peckham, *Tractatus tres*, p. 151.

³ M. J. Georges, Präsident der Société archéologique de la Charente zu Angoulême, hatte die Güte, auf meine Bitte hin in den lokalen Quellen Nachforschungen über Guy anzustellen, ohne aber weiteres zu finden. Für seine Bemühungen sei ihm auch an dieser Stelle wärmstens gedankt.

angibt, nämlich die eben genannte *Disputatio mundi et religionis*. Neuerdings hat aber Kingsford den Nachweis unternommen, dass die *Disputatio* nicht Guy de la Marche, sondern Johannes Peckham gehört, und andere Forscher, H. Walther¹ und P. Livarius Oligier,² haben seiner Beweisführung zugestimmt. Wenn nun dieser Nachweis richtig ist, so wird auch die Zuweisung von *Sortes, Plato, Cicero* an Guy aus zwei Gründen sehr zweifelhaft. Einmal ist zu bedenken, dass dieselbe Handschrift, die die *Disputatio* fälschlich Guy zuschreibt, auch in bezug auf den Verfasser des anderen Gedichtes wenig Glauben verdient; vielmehr ist dann damit zu rechnen, dass diese Abschrift der beiden Gedichte aus einer Quelle stammt, die an Guy's Dichterruhm interessiert war, etwa aus demselben Kloster, dem Guy angehört hat. Ferner aber hängt die Frage der Zuweisung von *Sortes, Plato, Cicero* an Guy noch auf andere Weise mit der der *Disputatio* zusammen: die beiden Gedichte haben nämlich, wie wir zeigen werden, gewisse stilistische Gemeinsamkeiten, die es sehr wahrscheinlich machen, dass sie tatsächlich *einem* Verfasser gehören. Es ergibt sich also, dass die Zuweisung von *Sortes, Plato, Cicero* mit der Entscheidung über den Verfasser der *Disputatio* steht und fällt. Wir haben uns also zugleich mit diesem letzteren Problem auseinanderzusetzen, das durch die literarische und kulturhistorische Wichtigkeit der *Disputatio* und die Bedeutung ihres präsumptiven Verfassers, John Peckhams, ein besonderes Interesse gewinnt.³

Die *Disputatio Mundi et Religionis*⁴ ist gedacht als Verteidigung der Bettelorden gegenüber den Anschuldigungen ihrer Gegner. Mundus, Personifikation des weltlichen Lebens,⁵ bringt beim Papst und

¹ H. Walther, *Das Streitgedicht*, p. 166.

² 'Das Streitgedicht Mundus et Religio,' in *Collectanea variae doctrinae*, p. 177.

³ Johannes Peckham, geb. in Surrey um 1240, Franziskaner; dozierte mit ausserordentlichem Erfolge in Oxford, Paris und Rom, Erzbischof von Canterbury seit 1279, starb dort 1292; seine zahlreichen und vielgelesenen Schriften erstrecken sich auf Naturwissenschaft, Philosophie, Theologie, franziskanische Apologie; hinzu kommen einige Gedichte. Vgl. *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, s. v.

⁴ Gedruckt von Hauréau, *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes* XLV (1884) p. 1-30, von Kingsford in seiner genannten Ausgabe der *Tractatus tres de Paupertate* des Johannes Peckham, p. 159-191, sowie in mehreren alten Ausgaben der Werke des S. Bernardino da Siena.

⁵ Mundus vertritt das weltliche Leben im allgemeinen, nicht aber, wie P. Livarius Oligier *loc. cit.*, pp. 170, 180, 183 und 184 behauptet, den Weltklerus im Gegensatz zum Ordensklerus. Die Stellen über den Kummer der Eltern wegen der Verführung ihrer Söhne (Vers 45-56 und

bei der Kurie seine Anklagen vor und fordert Verbot der Orden; Religio, Personifikation des Lebens der Bettelmönche, verteidigt sich und klagt ihrerseits Mundus an; der Papst entscheidet schliesslich, dass das mönchische Leben zwar besser, dem Christen zuträglicher ist, dass man aber auch in der Welt (*mun-do*) rein (*mun-de*) anstatt weltlich (*mundane*) leben kann. Beide, Kloster und Welt, sollen, bei Strafe, Frieden halten und einander dienen, das Kloster durch sittliches Vorbild, die Welt durch Gewährung des Unterhalts. Mundus klagt die Mönche vor allem an, dass sie die Jugend zum Eintritt ins Kloster verführen, dass sie betteln und dabei im Reichtum leben, dass sie nicht arbeiten, dass sie hochfahrend sind u.s.f. Religio repliziert, dass das Weltleben ein Leben voll Sünde ist, dass es zwar schlechte Christen unter den Mönchen gibt, besonders unter den Benediktinern; Franziskaner und (in zweiter Linie) Dominikaner aber sind musterhaft; Christus selbst wollte ein Bettler sein; physische Arbeit ist von dem, der forscht und grübelt, nicht zu fordern u.s.w. Von beiden Seiten wird der Disput mit Leidenschaft und eindringlicher Argumentation geführt; gelehrte theologische und klassische Anspielungen gibt es in Menge, ebenso Wortspiele, rhetorische Paraden, plastische Details. Es sind im höchsten Masse gelungene, witzig pathetische 'Kapuzinerpredigten,' wertvoll besonders durch die freimütige Kritik der Mängel des Klosterlebens.

Der Umfang des Gedichtes ist in den Hss. sehr verschieden; die kürzeste Fassung hat 435 Verse, die längste 811.

Es gilt nun, die Argumente zu prüfen, die Kingsford¹ und Oligier² zur Zuweisung des Gedichtes an Johannes Peckham Anlass geben konnten. Ich stelle sie zunächst zusammen, um sie sodann Punkt für Punkt zu besprechen.

1. Vor allem hat die Zuweisung an Peckham einige Hss. für sich. Die Hss. sind von H. Walther³ und dann noch einmal (ausführlicher) von Oligier⁴ beschrieben worden; jede dieser beiden Listen hat einige

101-112 der Ausgabe Kingsfords) genügen, um das zu beweisen; denn sie passen natürlich nicht auf die Weltgeistlichen, die ja im allgemeinen keine Söhne haben, sondern nur auf Laien. Umgekehrt enthält das ganze Gedicht keine Anspielung, die sich direkt auf die Weltgeistlichen beziehen liesse.

¹ *loc. cit.*, p. 151-5.

² *loc. cit.*, p. 176-7.

³ *loc. cit.*, p. 165 f. ²/₁

⁴ *loc. cit.*, p. 173-175.

Hss., die der anderen fehlen; sie ergänzen sich also gegenseitig.¹ Aus der Vergleichung ergibt sich, dass vier von den dreizehn Hss. des Gedichts Peckham als Verfasser angeben: C(=Cambridge, Un. Lib. cod. Dd XIV, 20); D(=Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Digby 166); I(=Bologna, Bibl. Arciepisc., Aula 2a, cod. C. V. 19) sowie München, cod. lat. 8980; in sieben Hss. ist kein Verfasser genannt, in zweien Guy.

2. Das Gedicht ist, wie Kingsford nachweist, zwischen 1255 und 1274 entstanden;² 'also,' sagt Kingsford, 'kann Guy, der damals erst ein Knabe war, nicht der Autor gewesen sein.'

3. In der Zeit, in der das Gedicht wahrscheinlich entstand (1255–1274), war Peckham Lehrer in Paris. Er hat selbst an der Polemik zwischen den Franziskanern und Wilhelm von St Amour über die Ordensregeln teilgenommen.³ Die Anklagen von Mundus gegen die Mönche sind z.T. die gleichen, die damals gegen die Franziskaner vorgebracht worden sind. Es finden sich Parallelen zu einigen Stellen des Gedichts in Peckham's prosaischen Schriften.

4. Peckham ist auch sonst als hervorragender lateinischer Dichter bekannt.

Auf Grund dieser Argumente kommen die beiden Forscher dazu, Guy höchstens die erweiterte Fassung des Gedichtes, wie sie z.B. in *Parisin. Lat. 7906* vorliegt, dem Johannes Peckham aber das ursprüngliche Gedicht zuzusprechen.

Sehen wir nun der Reihe nach zu, was es mit diesen Argumenten auf sich hat.

1. Was die Zuweisung der *Disputatio* an Peckham in vier Hss. betrifft, so ist zu erinnern, dass, wie man weiss, die Verfasserangaben der Hss. in überaus vielen Fällen auf reiner Willkür beruhen. Es

¹ Zu den von Oligier beschriebenen Hss. treten hinzu: München, cod. lat. 8980 (s. xv); Basel, Un.-Bibl. D iv 4 (s. XIII–XIV); Brit. Mus. Roy. 8B vi (s. xvi). Was die für uns wichtigste Frage der Attribution betrifft, so kann ich aus Mitteilungen, für die ich den Bibliotheksverwaltungen in Basel und London verpflichtet bin, Walthers und Oligiers Angaben dahin ergänzen, dass das Gedicht in beiden Hss. anonym ist.

² Im Laufe seiner diesbezüglichen Untersuchung fixiert Kingsford p. 153 das Jahr 1274 als Terminus ad quem; in seiner Schlussfolgerung setzt er jedoch dafür 1270 ein; denselben Widerspruch zeigt Oligier p. 176. Ich sehe keinen Anlass, den Terminus ad quem vor 1274 anzunehmen.

³ Vgl. über diesen Streit jetzt A. Callebaut, 'Jean Peckham et l'Augustinisme' (*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* XVIII [1925], 441–472).

war bekanntlich gang und gäbe, Werke, die man in der Vorlage anonym fand, mit dem Namen irgendeines bekannten Schriftstellers zu schmücken. Der Name des berühmten, auch als Dichter gefeierten Erzbischofs von Canterbury war ganz dazu angetan, auf diese Weise verwertet zu werden. Auch zwei andere lateinische Gedichte, *De Confessione* und *Dum iuuenis crevi*, die die Hs. *Ee VI6* der Universitätsbibliothek Cambridge enthält, sind ihm fälschlich zugeschrieben worden. Peckhams Ruhm blühte natürlich vor allem in England, und so sehen wir denn, dass zwei der in Betracht kommenden Hss., *C* und *D*, aus England stammen, während die dritte Abschrift, *I*, aus dem Besitz des Francesco d'Empoli O. F. M. (starb nach 1347) stammt, der in Oxford studiert hat. Die vierte Hs. (München), hat kein Gewicht, da sie erst dem xv. Jh. angehört. Zu beachten ist noch, dass die Verfasserangaben sowohl in *C* wie in *D* nicht vom Abschreiber selbst stammen, sondern erst nachträglich von anderen Händen hinzugefügt worden sind.

2. Auch wenn das Gedicht spätestens 1274 oder sogar (wie Kingsford und Oligier wollen) spätestens 1270 verfasst ist, so spricht das nicht gegen Guys Verfasserschaft, da in Wahrheit nichts uns zwingt anzunehmen, dass Guy damals noch ein Kind war. Wie ich oben dargelegt habe, wissen wir von ihm nur, dass er vor 1257 geboren und nach 1291 gestorben ist, im letzteren Jahre aber ein als Charakter und als Gelehrter angesehener, reifer Mann war, den bis dahin nur der Makel seiner Geburt von hohen Aemtern ausgeschlossen hatte. Nichts spricht also dagegen und einiges dafür, dass Guy auch 1270 schon erwachsen war. Kingsfords und Oligiers Behauptung beruht eben nur auf der unbeweisbaren Annahme, dass Guy bis 1315 gelebt hätte.

3. Der Zusammenhang der *Disputatio* mit dem Streit um die Mendikantenorden, an dem auch Peckham sich beteiligt hat, und die Aehnlichkeit in der Argumentation beweisen nach keiner Seite hin etwas. Diese Argumente, die ebenso bei anderen Schriftstellern sich finden (ich will nur Thomas von Aquino und Bonaventura nennen), waren in jenen Jahren, wie auch Jahrzehnte später, unzweifelhaft Gemeingut. Die Parallelen zu einigen wenigen Stellen des Gedichtes, die Kingsford s. 192–193 und 197–198 aus Peckham's Prosaschriften

zusammengetragen hat, sind nicht im mindesten charakteristisch; Kingsford selbst ist sich darüber klar gewesen: 'they are not of a conclusive character.'

4. Während die bisher behandelten Punkte nur dies ergaben, dass Peckham nicht der Verfasser der *Disputatio* sein muss, zwingt uns die Vergleichung mit den Peckham sicher zugehörigen Gedichten einerseits und mit dem Gedichte *Sortes, Plato, Cicero* andererseits zu dem Schluss, dass Peckham nicht der Verfasser der *Disputatio* sein kann. Peckhams Gedichte sind: *Philomela* (mystische Betrachtungen vor allem über Christi Leiden), *Meditatio rythmica de Sacramento Altaris, Versus de Sacramento Altaris, Psalterium beatae Mariae Virginis* (Peckham gehört vielleicht nur das Prooemium), *De Deliciis Virginis gloriosae*.¹ Diesen Gedichten ist Stil und Stimmung gemeinsam: es sind die Aeusserungen schwärmerischer Frömmigkeit, einfach in der Diktion, obwohl sehr gefühlvoll, reine Stimmungsergüsse, von der erbaulichen Betrachtung bis zum gesteigertsten Ausdruck franziskanischer Christumystik. Die *Disputatio* ist offenbar von ganz anderer Art: ein Erzeugnis ironischer Reflexion, drastisch, schwierig in der Diktion, burlesk-pompös, reich an rhetorischen Antithesen, an mythologischen und theologisch gelehrten Anspielungen, das Werk eines Scholaren, der seine Bildung zu zeigen liebt, der die Ansprüche seines Ordens stolz verteidigt, aber auch die Kritik mit Behagen zu Worte kommen lässt. Diese komisch-antithetische Anlage, diesen kritisch-rationalen Charakter teilt die *Disputatio* auch mit *Sortes, Plato, Cicero*, aber nichts davon finden wir in Peckhams erwähnten authentischen Gedichten. Gemeinsam ist der *Disputatio* und dem *Sortes* auch die Schlusswendung: beide enden mit der konziliannten Feststellung, dass die verschiedenen Parteien, die im Gedichte antithetisch gegeneinander gestellt sind, im grossen Ganzen die gleiche Notwendigkeit, den gleichen relativen Wert haben.

Wir haben bisher von dem allgemeinen Eindruck der *Disputatio* und des *Sortes* im Gegensatz zu Peckhams Gedichten gesprochen; die Prüfung der metrischen Verhältnisse stärkt unsere Ansicht. Wir

¹ Die genannten Stücke sind sämtlich u.a. bei Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, gedruckt und zwar: I, 602-616, 597, 598; LV, 153-171; L, 598-600. Vgl. ferner ebenda v, 19; XXXI, 5; XXXVII, 110.

wählen als Vergleichsobjekt die *Philomela*, das umfangreichste und charakteristischste unter Peckhams poetischen Werken. Wir sehen nun zunächst in der *Philomela* (die ebenso wie die *Disputatio* in Vagantenstrophen geschrieben ist) das sorgliche Bemühen, Taktwechsel zu vermeiden; die *Disputatio* und *Sortes* dagegen wimmeln von Taktwechsel: *Philomela* zeigt in ihren 360 Versen 24 mal Taktwechsel (davon 10 Fälle der leichtesten Art, nämlich bei angehängtem -que, wie *caputque*, *suoque*, *mundique*) also im Durchschnitt 7 Taktwechsel (Tw) auf 100 Verse; *Disputatio* zeigt allein in den ersten 100 Versen 66 mal Tw, und *Sortes* zeigt in seinen 140 Versen 81 mal Tw, also im Durchschnitt auf 100 Verse 57 mal Tw. In Prozenten ausgedrückt: 7%: 66%: 57%. Von Zufall kann da offenbar keine Rede sein. Umgekehrt zeigt die *Philomela* eine andere Lizenz, die die beiden übrigen Gedichte vermieden haben, nämlich die Verwendung eines einsilbigen Wortes am Schluss eines Verses oder Halbverses: die *Philomela* (360 Verse) hat 16 Versschlüsse vom Typus *tale cor*, *sensit hoc*, *placens*, *se dat*, *ulnis te*, die *Disputatio* (580 Verse) nur einen (*audi me*, Vers 15), *Sortes* (140 Verse) keinen. In Prozenten ausgedrückt: 4.4%: 0.2%: 0%. Endlich weist die *Philomela* zahlreiche stark prononcierte Enjambements auf, während die beiden andern Gedichte solche offenbar zu vermeiden suchen.

Der Zusammenhang, der, wie wir sahen, durch die allgemeine Stimmung, die Schlusswendung und die Behandlung des Verses zwischen der *Disputatio* und dem *Sortes* hergestellt wird, erscheint endlich entscheidend gefestigt durch die Sprache der beiden Gedichte. Sie haben nämlich eine Anzahl paralleler Wendungen, die um so bemerkenswerter sind, wenn man die Kürze des *Sortes* in Betracht zieht. Es sind die folgenden:

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1) Non via sed invio | |
| | D(=Disp., ed. Kingsford) 72 |
| Non via sed invio | |
| | S(=Sortes) 13, 3. |
| 2) Et celestis praemii | erunt iam consortes |
| | D 316 |
| Praestat eis bravium | aeternae salutis |
| | D 568 |
| Sortes erit superum | consors sorte bravii |
| | S 11, 3 |

- 3) Nam si solum legerent saeculares isti
Iam falsis quae dicerent non posset resisti
D 529 f.
Si Plato non legeret, si cessaret quaestio . . .
Sortes sorte curreret
S 13, 1-3
- 4) Cum transire videris caput monachorum,
Tot vadit cum faleris et turmis equorum
Et cum tot armigeris et turba cursorum.
D 289 ff.
Sortes prae consortibus currit in consorcio,
In equis et curribus non est dispensatio
S 1, 2
- 5) Et Boëz manipula et panis Abdie . . .
Ministrabant singula nunc ut illa die
D 546-8 (mit Anspielung auf Ruth, 3,7)
Sortes cursim seminat de cuius manipulo
Plenus Plato ruminat sine cordis scrupulo
S 7, 3 f. (mit Anspielung auf dieselbe Bibelstelle)
- 6) Et si de tot milibus sint decem vel centum
Vacantes erroribus, *condentes talentum,*
An ab hoc ex omnibus sumas [so ist wohl zu verbessern
statt 'sumus,' das Kingsford druckt]
argumentum,
Quod unum in moribus teneat accentum? (Das Frage-
zeichen fehlt bei Kingsford)¹
D 205-8 (mit Anspielung auf Matth., xxv., 18)
Plato, Sortes tradita *talenta multiplicant . . .*
Ciceronis merita Ciceronem iudicant . . .
Quem in mna *recondita* ociosum indicant
S 33, 1-4 (mit Anspielung auf dieselbe Bibelstelle).
- 7) Et, si bene cogitas, sub umbra pannorum [scil. der Doctores]
Quiescunt nunc veritas et verba sanctorum.
D 527 f.
Plato pannis tegitur sicco sedens vellere
S 5, 1
- 8) Ut ab his desisterent, fuimus admixti
D 532
Inter istos medius admiscetur Cicero
S, 23, 1

¹ Bei dieser Gelegenheit seien auch einige andere sinnstörende Fehler in Kingsfords Text vermutungsweise verbessert. Hinter den Versen 64; 212; 396 und p. 174, n. 10, v. 4 müssen Fragezeichen stehen; hinter Vers 541 Semikolon oder Punkt. Dagegen ist p. 177, n. 8 hinter Vers 5, und p. 179, n. 7 hinter Vers 4 der Punkt zu streichen. In Vers 513 wird die Lesart von A durch den Reim gefordert. Ausserdem lies Vers 398 *est*; Vers 471 *transeo*; p. 188, n. 13 v. 1 *praeterea*.

Die Frage, die uns im Vorhergehenden beschäftigt hat, beantwortet sich nunmehr dahin: Die *Disputatio inter mundum et religionem* ist kein Werk des Johannes Peckham; sie gehört vielmehr demselben Dichter, der *Sortes Plato Cicero* geschrieben hat. Seinen Namen erfahren wir aus den Hss. *Par. lat. n. acq. 1742* und *Oxf. Coll. Reg.*¹ und wir haben keinen Grund, diese Angaben der beiden Hss. in Zweifel zu ziehen. *Der Verfasser der 'Disputatio' und des 'Sortes' ist Guy de la Marche.*

IV. DIE HANDSCHRIFTEN DES GEDICHTS UND DIE PRINZIPIEN DER AUSGABE

Drei Hss. des Gedichts sind mir bekannt geworden:

1) *Hs. N* = Paris, *Bibl. Nat. ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1742*. Anfang XIV. Jhdts., Pergament. 28 × 20.5 cm. Ehemals dem Dominikanerkloster Grenoble gehörig. Die Hs. ist beschrieben von Délisle, *Bibl. de l'Ec. des Chartes* LVI (1895), 674–677, sowie von Omont, *ibid.*, LVII (1896), 177 ff. Sie enthält ausser unserem Gedicht einige kleinere *Sermones* (anonym), drei Traktate des Bonaventura sowie einen *Liber de generalibus tripartitus*, verfasst um 1300, hier fälschlich dem Humbert de Romans zugeschrieben; ferner, abgesehen von unserm Gedicht, noch folgende lateinische Gedichte:

1) Gespräch zwischen Maria und dem Kreuz, anf. *Cruz de te volo conqueri*, von Philippe de Grève.²

2) Streit zwischen Wein und Wasser, anf. *Denudata veritate*.³

3) *Disputatio mundi et religionis*, anf. *O Christi vicarie*, hier (ebenso wie unser Gedicht) dem Guido de Marchia zugeschrieben. Es ist dasselbe Gedicht, von dem im vorigen Abschnitt die Rede war.

Das Gedicht *Sortes, Plato, Cicero* steht fol. 5^r–5^v; jede Seite ist in zwei Kolonnen geteilt. Die Schrift, eine schöne Rotunde, mutet italienisch an. Der Anfangsbuchstabe der ersten Strophe ist verziert, die der übrigen scheinen abwechselnd blau und rot zu sein. Die Verse

¹ Es ist dies die Hs., in der Bale die *Disputatio* las, die aber, nach Kingsford, p. 149, dies Gedicht in ihrem heutigen Zustand nicht mehr enthält.

² Gedruckt von Paul Meyer in seiner Ausg. von *Daurèle et Beton* (Paris, 1880), p. LXXV. In unserer Hs. ist kein Verfasser angegeben.

³ Gedruckt *Carmina Burana* ed. Schmeller Nr. 173 (ed. Hilka-Schumann, Nr. 193); *Du Ménil, Poésies inédites du moyen âge*, (Paris, 1854), p. 303 ff.

sind abgesetzt; wenig Abkürzungen. Ueberschrift, fol. 4^v unten, anscheinend von der gleichen Hand: 'Incipit tractatus fratris Guidonis de Marchia, ordinis minorum, de Cicerone disputatore et Sorte praedicatore et Platone lectore.'¹ Am Ende unseres Gedichtes sind von einer anderen Hand des 14. Jhdts. die Worte eingefügt: 'Explicit tractatus fratris Guidonis de Marchia ordinis minorum.'

2) *Hs. T* = Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, *ms. 376*. Georges Colton² setzt die *Hs.* ins Ende des XIII. Jhdts; doch erklärte Herr Prof. Degering, Direktor der Handschriftenabteilung der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, dessen Urteil ich die Photographie unseres Gedichtes unterbreitete, dass die Schrift frühestens der Mitte des XIV. Jhdts. angehört. Pergament, 14, 5 × 10 cm. Ehemals in der Bibliothek der Kathedrale von Tours. Die Handschrift enthält ausser unserm Gedicht noch das *Breviloquium* des Bonaventura sowie einige kleine anonyme Traktate theologischen, z.T. mystischen Inhalts. Unser Gedicht steht fol. 68^v–69^v. Enge, flüchtige Schrift (französische Bastarde); überaus viele Abkürzungen. Je zwei Verse auf der Zeile. Ueberschrift und Explicit fehlen.

3) *Hs. P* = Prag, Oeffentliche und Universitätsbibliothek, *cod. lat. 1569*, xv Jh. (z.T. datiert Erfurt 1432). Papier, 22 × 15, 5 cm. Ehemals im Jesuitenkolleg Skt. Clemens zu Prag. Die *Hs.* enthält ausser unserem Gedicht nur noch theologische und philosophische Werke des Nicolaus Bonetus (†1360). Unser Gedicht steht am Schluss der Handschrift, fol. 274^{r-v}. Die Schrift, eine wohl deutsche Bastarde, ist flüchtig; zahlreiche Abkürzungen. Je zwei Verse auf der Zeile. Ueberschrift und Explicit fehlen.

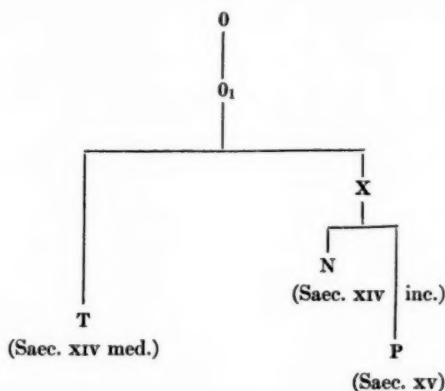
Ich habe die Handschriften in Photographien benutzt; für die Erlaubnis zu deren Herstellung bin ich den Vorständen der betreffenden Bibliotheken verpflichtet, wie ich auch den Herren Prof. E. K. Rand (Cambridge, Mass.), Dr M. Schwabe (Jerusalem) und besonders Dr H. Walther (Göttingen), die die Güte hatten, die Arbeit vor der

¹ Ueber die fehlerhafte Wiedergabe dieser Stelle bei Delisle, *Bibl. de l'Ec. d. Ch.* LVI, 674, bei Kingsford, *Johannis Peckham Tractatus* . . . p. 151 und bei Oligier, *Collectanea* . . . p. 177 n. 6, vgl. oben, p. 499.

² *Cat. gén. des mss. des bibliothèques publiques de la France, Départements*, t. XXXVII, (Paris, 1900), p. 287 f.

Drucklegung zu lesen, für eine Anzahl wertvoller Fingerzeige und Anregungen herzlichen Dank schulde, dem Letztgenannten ausserdem für den Nachweis der Hss. *T* und *P*.

Das Verhältnis der Handschriften wird durch das folgende Schema bezeichnet:



N und *P* bilden eine besondere Klasse, da sie, gegenüber der richtigen Lesart von *T*, an vier Stellen charakteristische gemeinsame Fehler haben, (nämlich 5, 4 *sorti* statt *sortim*; 8, 1 *facit* statt *fecit*; 11, 1 *expers* statt *exsors*; 20, 1 *discurrere* statt *discutere*) während *T* nirgendwo in einem unzweifelhaften Fehler mit der einen gegen die andere übereinstimmt. *T* ist durchaus die beste Handschrift, obwohl Str. 35 in ihr fehlt; *P*, die jüngste Hs., ist ziemlich stark verderbt.

Unter diesen Umständen ergab sich für die Herstellung des Textes die Notwendigkeit, *T* im allgemeinen als Grundlage zu wählen und von *T* nur in den wenigen Fällen abzugehen, wo *N* oder *P* einen ausgesprochen besseren Text boten oder wo alle drei Hss. versagten. Für Str. 35, die in *T* fehlt, habe ich nach Möglichkeit *N* den Vorzug vor *P* gegeben. Sämtliche Varianten sind am Fuss der Seiten mitgeteilt. Ich habe *u* und *v* unterschieden, *j* durch *i* ersetzt, Eigenamen und Strophenanfänge durch Majuskeln gekennzeichnet und Interpunktionen hinzugefügt, im übrigen aber die Schreibung der Hss. bewahrt.

<p><i>N f. 5a</i> <i>P f. 279^r</i> <i>T f. 68^v</i></p>	<p>1. Sortes præ consortibus in equis et curribus Platonis in manibus et de sortis cursibus</p> <p>2. Quicquid Plato loquitur, Sortes hoc prosequitur quod si bene curritur, si cursus remittitur,</p> <p>3. Plato vult ostendere, quas Sortes in pulvere fervent ambę colerę, sed dispares opere,</p> <p>4. Quicquid ningit circius, Sortes, vento pervius, Plato sui conscius, grandi plaga saucius,</p> <p>5. Plato pannis tegitur, Sortes aut compluitur Plato prælegitur, Sortes sortim mittitur</p>	<p>currit in consorcio; non est dispensacio. sonat disputacio longa demonstracio.</p> <p>quicquid Plato disputat, et currendo computat. Plato cursum reputat; Plato Sorti imputat.</p> <p>quot sunt motus species, dinumerat pluries. rubent ambę facies; et dispar est requies.</p> <p>quicquid gelat aquilo, reputat pro nihilo. pro tenui sibilo immolabit in Silo.</p> <p>sicco sedens vellere; aut sudat in pulvere. diu discit dicere; aut pati aut agere.</p>
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N = Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, fonds lat., nouv. acq., ms. 1742. *P* = Prag, *Univ.-Bibl.*, cod. lat. 1569^r
T = Tours, *Bibl. Munic.*, ms. 376. —

Ueberschrift in N: Incipit tractatus fratris Guidonis de Marchia Ordinis Minorum de Cicerone disputatore et Sorte predicatore et Platone lectore. *Keine Ueberschrift*
P T — 1, 1 præ] in *P* — 1, 2 curribus] *verbessert aus* (zu?) canibus *T* — 1, 4 cursibus] corsibus *P* — longa] magna *N* — 2, 1a quicquid] quidquid *NP* — 2, 1b quicquid] quidquid *P* — 2, 3 cursum] sortem *N* — 3, 2 dinumerat] experitur *N* — 3, 3a ambę] ambo *P* — 3, 3b rubent *verbessert aus* fervent *T* — 4, 1a quicquid] quidquid *P* — circius] circinus *P* — 4, 1b quicquid] quidquid *NP* — 4, 3 sui] sibi *NP* — pro tenui] protervii *N* — 4, 4 Silo] sylo *N* — 5, 2a aut] autem *P* — 5, 3 discit] discet *NT* — 5, 4, sortim] sorti *NP* —

1, 1: Sortes = Socrates; vgl. die Einleitung. — 3, 1: Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica, Prima Secundae, quaestio 6, art. 1* unterscheidet drei Arten von Bewegung. — 3, 3: colera = χολέρα. 4, 1: Cfr. Martial. v. 9. — 4, 3 f.: Sinn: 'Wenn sich auch nur ein leises Zischen (im Hörsaal) erhebt, so ist das für den selbstbewussten P. ein solcher Hieb, dass er ein Stossgebet spricht.' — 4, 4: In Schiloh stand die Stiftshütte; daher *immolare in Silo* mehrmals im *Allen Testament*. Insbesondere dürfte *I Sam.*, Kap. I vorschweben, wo Hanna, durch Penina's Spott über ihre Unfruchtbarkeit gekränkt, in den Tempel zu Schiloh beten geht, — 5, 1: Gemeint ist der Talar des Gelehrten. — Für die *facultas legendi* in Theologie war ein Studium von mindestens acht Jahren obligatorisch; vgl. Denifle-Chatelain, *Chartularium Univ. Paris.* (Paris, 1889), I, 79. — 5, 4: *sortim* ('wie es der Zufall fñgt') wohl Neubildung des Dichters, analog *cursum* (7, 3), *sensim*, etc. —

- | | |
|---|--|
| 6. Nec Platonis lectio
primos in convivio
Sorti pro stipendio
communis refectio, | nec sermo gratuitus;
percipit accubitus.
cursivi circuitus
communis est habitus. |
| 7. Dum Plato determinat
se Sortes exterminat
Sortes cursim seminat,
plenus Plato ruminat | de centro et circulo,
discurrens in sabulo;
de cuius manipulo
sine cordis scrupulo. |
| 8. Dum Plato pompaticę
Sortes sortis rusticę
quieti socraticę
nec sortis platonicę | ventilat eloquium,
querit diversorium;
paratur hospicium,
sortitur consorcium. |
| 9. Pares ambos ratio,
de pari principio
sensibili medio
probat Sorti socio, | pares fecit dominus;
par eorum terminus.
Plato nichilominus
quod ipse sit asinus. |
| 10. Dum Sortes sollicitus
distrahuntur habitus | cogitat de crastinis,
utriusque hominis; |

6, 1 lectio] actio *N* — 6, 2 percipit] vendicat *P* — 6, 3 cursivi] cursum *P* — 6, 4a communis] communis est *N*; communis *verbessert aus* communis est *T* — 7, 1 et] in *P* — 7, 3 cursim] cursum *P* — 7, 4 plenus Plato] plato pleus (!) *P* — ruminat] rumiatur (!) *N* — 8, 1–4 in *N* nach *Strophe* 9 — 8, 2 querit diversorium] dies querit sorcium *NT* — 8, 3 quieti] quietis *P* — 8, 4 sortis] *verbessert aus* sorti *T* — 9, 1 ambos] ambo *N* — fecit] facit *NP* — 9, 2 par eorum] impar eis *N* — 9, 4 Sorti] sortis *P* — 10, 2 distrahuntur] distrahitur *N* — habitus] am Rande nachgetragen *P* —

6, 4: 'Gemeine Beköstigung, gemeines Gewand.' — 7, 1: Der terminus technicus *determinatio* bezeichnete die Entscheidung einer Frage auf dem Wege des Syllogismus; vgl. *Chart. Univ. Paris*. I, 563; II, 673. — *centrum et circulus*, vielleicht speziell 'Erde und Himmelsgewölbe'; vgl. *Cambridger Lieder* ed. Strecker, Anhang, Nr. 2, Str. 24: 'Hec (scil. ars astrologica) perpendit celum, terram . . . axem, decem circulos . . .' — 7, 3: Cf. *Ruth* III, 7. Des Sortes Saat wird zu einer Garbe, von der Plato sich voll isst; ich verstehe: Sortes' religiöse Propaganda zieht junge Leute in den Orden; diese werden Platos Schüler. — 8, 2: *diversorium* (*deversorium*) 'Schlupfwinkel.' — 8, 4: Sinn: 'Sortes findet keine so erlesene Gesellschaft, wie ein Plato sie hat.' — 9, 2: Geburt und Tod. — 9, 4: *ipse* hier wie mittellateinisch auch sonst oft = *ille* (Dieser abgeschwächte, 'rhetorische' Gebrauch von *ipse* neuerdings zusammengestellt von Lilliedahl, *Lunds Universitets Arsskrift*, N. F., Avd. I, Bd. 24 [1928], p. 22–27). — Der syllogistische Beweis, dass Sokrates ein Esel (oder eine Ziege, ein Tier etc.) ist, gehörte seit Abälard zu den gebräuchlichen Sophismata logicaia der Scholastik; vgl. die Einleitung. —

	Plato rerum transitus in virtute spiritus,	exponit in terminis qui spirat ex paginis.
N f. 5b 11.	Sortes consors pauperum, Plato compar procerum, Sortes erit superum si pertransit alterum	exsors magisterii, expers est officii; consors sorte bravii, per viam compendii.
12.	Plato nescit currere currit tamen propere (pociori opere igitur concludere Platonem præcurrere,	nisi cursu intimo, spiritu et animo; vacat cum Jheronimo.) possum, sicut estimo, quia cursu optimo.
13.	Si Plato non legeret, nisi palam fieret Sortes sorte curreret, et tandem deduceret	si cessaret questio, Platonis opinio, non via, set invio, cursum præcipicio.
14.	Dum Plato vult legere et in scolis promere Sortes vult evadere cursor curans currere	Genesim vel Exodum Philosophi methodum, quietis incommodum; comprehendit postmodum.
15.	Plato mentis acie tractus rei specie, Sortes, currens varie gaudet rerum facie,	fertur in simplicibus; trahitur a sensibus. in variis finibus, ridet rerum fructibus.

10, 3 exponit] disponit *P* — 10, 4b ex] in *N* — 11, 1 exsors] expers *NP* — 11, 4 si] sic *P* — 12, 1 *am Rande* Lector *N* — intimo] optimo *P* — 12, 2 currit tamen] cucurrit enim *P*; currit enim *T* — propere] prospere *P* — 12, 3 fehlt *P* und ist wohl späterer Zusatz — 12, 5 quia] qz *NT*; qⁱ (=quasi) *P* — 13, 1b si] sic *P* — questio] lectio *NP* — 13, 4 et] set *N* — 14, 2 scolis] scol *P* — 15, 2 tractus *scripsi*] tracta *PT*; tracto *N* — rei] rerum *P* — 15, 3 currens] currit *P* —

10, 3: *terminus* bedeutet hier vielleicht—wie auch (nach Lyte, *A History of the University of Oxford*, [London, 1886], p. 226) im mittelalterlichen Oxford—'Studienquartal' oder aber (in Anlehnung an *ἄριστος*) 'Definition'. Mit *rerum transitus* könnten vielleicht die 'transzendenten Dinge, τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικά' gemeint sein.—10, 4: Den Vorlesungen lag bekanntlich immer ein autoritativer Text zugrunde.—11, 3 *superi* hier 'die Seligen.'—12, 3. Biblexegese? 13, 1: Die *Quaestio* ist die Problemstellung mittels Argumenten und Gegenargumenten und die anschließende Lösung durch Distinktionen; vgl. Grabmann, *Geschichte der Scholastischen Methode*, II, (Freiburg, 1911), p. 424–430. Sie bildete einen Teil der *Lectio*; vgl. Paulsen, *Geschichte des Gelehrten Unterrichts* u.s.w. 3. Aufl. I, (Leipzig, 1919), 38.—13, 3: Ebenso *Disputatio Mundi et Religionis* ed. Kingsford (*Brit. Soc. of Franciscan Studies*, vol. II) Vers 72 'non via sed invio.' Cf. Ovid., *Met.* XIV 113.—14, 2: *Philosophi methodus* ist die (vor allem in der aristotelischen *Topik* gelehrt) Methode, zwecks Klärung der Probleme Einwände und Schwierigkeiten aufzuwerfen, also innerhalb des scholastischen Betriebs speziell die *Disputationsmethode*.—15, 1: *mentis acie*: cf. Quintil. XI, 210; *Carm. Bur.* ed. Hilka-Schumann, Nr. 17 (Schmeller Nr. I) v. 9.—*simplicia*, 'die abstrakten Dinge.'—15, 2: Sinn: 'Indem ihn die *Idee*

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|
| | 16. Plato plenus reumate,
pro novo problemate
Sortes sumpto theumate
sua suo climate | Plato dolens latera,
se torquet in camera;
via currit libera,
recreando viscera. |
| <i>T f. 69</i> | 17. Sortes certis spaciis
expertus presagiis
heret Plato studiis
repletus discursiis, | sano currit pectore,
influentis amphore.
spiritu et corpore;
brevis vivit tempore. |
| | 18. Dum Plato cotidie
occurrunt fantasię
Sortes consciencię
assunt patri filię, | torquetur in studio,
mentis in ginnasio.
sinitur arbitrio;
desunt patres filio. |
| <i>P f. 27 9v</i> | 19. Trituram diligere
currens in itinere,
Plato pressus onere,
quid placeat dicere, | doctus, Sortes cursitat;
hospitem precogitat.
si non se sollicitat,
murmur domi excitat. |
| <i>N f. 5c</i> | 20. Cum Plato discutere
nequit sompnum capere,
certe vellet currere
cui licet concludere | debet difficilia,
oppressus angaria.
sorte Sorti propria,
sine controversia. |
| | 21. Plato pallens facie
et configit anxie | tractat arduissima
splen, epar et intima; |

16, 2 problemate] problemate *P* — 16, 3 theumate] themate *P*; teugmate *T* — 17, 1 sano currit] currit sano *P* — 17, 2 amphore] amfore *T* — 18, 1 cotidie] cottidie *NP* — 18, 2 occurrunt] occurrit *P* — fantasię] *ausgestrichen und unter der Seite ergänzt* fanthasie *P* — mentis] gentis *P* — ginnasio] gynnasio *P*; gignasio *T* — 18, 3 Sortes consc. sin. arb.] Sortes rerum specie gaudet et solacio *N* (*Lückenbüßer auf Grund von 16, 4*) — 19, 1 doctus Sortes curs.] Sortes doctus cogitat *P* — 19, 3 onere] honere *N* — non se] se non *P* — 19, 4 murmur domi] domo murmur *PT* — excitat] *am Rande hinzugefügt* *P* — 20, 1 cum] dum *N* — discutere] discurrere *NP* — 21, 2 splen, epar] epar, splen *P* —

des Dinges (das Ding an sich) anzieht, zieht sie ihn ab von den sinnlichen Dingen.' (Die Konjektur *tractus* rechtfertigt sich durch *tracto* [Hs. *N*], was vom Schreiber statt *tractus* verlesen sein könnte. *trahitur a* wie Verg. *Aen.* II 403 f. *'trahatur . . . a templo Cassandra'*; *species* als Uebersetzung von *idéa* bei Cic. *Ac.*, I 30; id. *Top.* 530). Sinn der ganzen Strophe: Plato spekuliert, Sortes genießt. — 16, 2f.: *problema* die These, die der Lehrer seinen Schülern als Grundlage für die Disputation zu liefern hatte; *theuma* das Predigthema, das der Prediger einem Homiliar entnehmen konnte. — 18, 2: Cf. Sidon. Appollin. Ep. I 6 *gymnasium litterarum*. — 18, 4: 'Die Mädchen leisten dem Pater Gesellschaft, die Kirchenväter bleiben ihrem Sohne fern.' — 21, 2: Cf. *Ps.* cxxix, 120. *epar* = ἑραρ.

Sortes deus patrię; cuius sunt primicię,	cuius quequam optima, libamen et victima.
22. Plato, planta stabilis, est Ysaac utilis Sortes motor mobilis cito supplantabilis,	quasi Iacob alius et Rebecę conscius; venatur exterius, si non currit caucius.
23. Inter istos medius nec iste nec alius, non est Sortis socius si manet interius,	admiscetur Cicero, motu motus libero. nisi cursu prospero; quiescit cum altero.
24. Nocent propter coleram nec patitur pateram declinat ad dexteram honori dat operam,	Ciceroni cicera, patēre pro sicera. inter duo latera: set abhorret opera.

21, 3 patrię] p(at)rie T p(ate)rne P — 22, 1, Plato] *verbessert aus* planta iacob T — 22, 2 conscius] socius N — 22, 3 motor mobilis] motu nobilis P — exterius] diffusus N — 22, 4 currit] currat N — 23, 1 *am Rande* Cicero N — admiscetur] affuit et N — 23, 2 motu motus] motus motu NP — 24, 1 nocent] nocet P — 24, 2 patitur pateram] patriam patitur N — patere] patrię N — sicera] sycera N; cicera T — 24, 4 set] et P — abhorret] abhorret N —

21, 3: *deus patrię*: cf. *Ps.* xcvi, 7: 'Afferte Domino patrię gentium, afferte Domino gloriam.'¹ Gleichwohl ist die Stelle merkwürdig, (verderbt?). Sinn: Sortes ist gleichsam der Gott des Landes; ihm bringt das Volk Früchte, Trankspenden und Braten. — 21, 4: Vgl. *Num.* xxxi, 29: 'primitiæ Domini sunt' und viele ähnliche Stellen des Alten Testaments. — 22, 1-4: Den Namen 'Jakob' erklären Hieronymus (*Migne, Patr. Lat.* xxiii, 781) und nach ihm die meisten Bibelexegeten des Mittelalters als 'supplantator' (im Anschluss an *Gen.* xxvii, 36). Jakob ist dem Isaak *utilis*, denn er bringt ihm Speise (*Gen.* xxvii, 18); er ist *Rebecę conscius*, denn er weiss von ihrem Betrug (*Gen.* xxvii, 13). Plato, *planta stabilis* wie Jakob, ist dem Isaak (d.h. Christus, insofern Isaak bei Tertullian [*Migne, Patr. Lat.*, II, 346] und vielen andern als Präfiguration Christi gefasst wird) durch seine Forschung und Lehre nützlich und mit Rebekka (die, nach Ambrosius, *Migne*, xiv 452, und vielen andern, die Kirche präfiguriert) vertraut. Sortes *venatur* und *supplantabilis* wie Esau; indes Esau = Sortes im Weiten schweift, läuft ihm Jakob = Plato den Rang ab. — 22, 3 *motor mobilis*. Der Begriff bei Aristoteles, *Metaph.* xi 6, danach in der Scholastik allgemein, z.B. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol., Pars Prima, quæstio* II, art. 3. — 23, 2: *motu motus libero* vielleicht Anspielung auf *motu proprio* (wie man bekanntlich seit altersher gewisse päpstliche Bullen nennt)? Der Vers hätte dann den Nebensinn: 'Cicero ist selbtherrlich wie der Papst' oder auch 'Cicero gehorcht nur dem Papst.' — 24, 2: 'Auch verträgt er es (wegen seiner schwächlichen Konstitution) nicht, dass sein Becher für berauschendes Getränk (*sicera* = σικερα < hebr. šekhar, *Dt.* xiv, 26 u. ö.), offensteht.' (Die Lesung *patere* 24, 25 befriedigt weniger.) —

¹ *Patrię* ist in diesem Psalmenvers natürlich Vokativ Pluralis; bei dem in den Hss. üblichen Mangel an Interpunktion konnte aber ein mittelalterlicher Leser das Wort als Genitiv Singularis verstehen (beziehungswise konnte der Dichter in Reimnot vorgeben, es so zu verstehen), wie auch in verschiedenen älteren Vulgataausgaben das Komma vor *patrię* fehlt.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 25. Plato vigil, sobrius
Sortes cursor anxius
ille, statu varius,
amborum vicarius, | insudat propositis;
circuit in compitis.
liber est in libitis,
neuter est in meritis. |
| 26. Plato mira dicere
Sortes sperat currere
Cicero vult sistere
divertit ab onere, | proponit in crastino;
succurrente domino.
expectans cum asino;
serviens in cophino. |
| 27. Cicero cum superis
navigat in prosperis
non insistit litteris
fovetur a ceteris | nomen sibi vendicat;
nec se curis implicat;
nec plateis prædicat;
et ceteros iudicat. |
| 28. In parcium serie
vel cum bina facie
nunc avis, nunc bestię
et in omni specie | par est participio
compar Ianuario;
gaudet privilegio
caret esse proprio. |
| 29. Quem Cicero reputat,
Sorti cursum deputat,
non ut Plato disputat
nemo sibi imputat, | stultus est, qui arguit;
Platonem instituit.
nec ut Sortes circuit;
nemo legem posuit. |

25, 1 sobrius] p(er)nus (verderbt aus pervius?) P — 25, 2 compitis] competis P — 25, 3 est] fehlt P — in libitis] inlibitis N — 25, 4 est] fehlt T — 26, 1 mira] iura P — 26, 2 sperat] am Rande sperat verbessert aus preparat N; querit P — succurrente] succurte (!) N — 26, 3 expectans] expectans N — 27, 1 superis] superbis N — 28, 1 par est] parens P — 28, 2 vel] est P — bina] bona P — 29, 1-4 fehlt P — 29, 3b nec] non T —

25, 1: *propositum* hier (wie schon bei Cic. *Top.* §79) = These. — 25, 4: *vicarius* = Prior? Vgl. die Einleitung. — 26, 1: *proponit . . . sperat . . . vult*: die Strophe beschreibt, was für Pläne sich jeder der drei für den nächsten Tag macht. — 26, 4: Reminiszenz an *Ps.* LXXXI, 7 'Divertit ab oneribus dorsum eius, manus eius in cophino servierunt,' (so in der *Vulgata* sinnloserweise anstatt 'seine Hände liessen ab vom Korb'). 28, 1: *parcium*. *Priscian* II, v, 22 (dem die späteren Grammatiker folgen) unterscheidet acht *Partes orationis*, zu denen auch das Partizipium gehört. — *Par est participio*, insofern auch das Partizip *zwitterig* (*verbum infinitum*) ist. Vgl. Vers 2-4. — 28, 2: *Ianuarius* verwechselt mit *Ianus*. — 28, 3: D. h. er lebt amphibisch, bald schweifend wie *Sortes*, bald geruhsam wie *Plato*. Zugleich Anspielung auf die Fabel von der Fledermaus, die bei einem Krieg zwischen den Vögeln und den Vierfüßlern sich treulos bald der einen, bald der andern Partei zugesellte. Die Fabel stammt von *Phaedrus*, ist aber nur in einer mittelalterlichen Prosaauflösung seiner Gedichte (*Fabulae antiquae*) erhalten (gedruckt bei *Hervieux, Les fabulistes latins* [Paris, 1884] II, 134) und von dort auch in andere Sammlungen übergegangen. — 29, 1: D. h. wohl: wenn *Cicero* einen *Disputator* (*arguere* = disputieren) lobt, so ist es gewiss ein *Dummkopf*. — 29, 4: *sibi* = ei. —

	30. Sortes currit propere, Cicero sub vellere quod potest obicere	set non sic de singulis; accubat in angulis. Plato cum discipulis, cum pharetrę spiculis.
<i>N f. 5 d</i>	Cicero scit solvere	
	31. Medius in ordine, vertitur in cardine, quicquid est in homine perflat suo turbine	sed ignarus medii, typum gerens ostii; pacies et solacii, sub aura favonii.
	32. Plato circumloquitur Sortes sortem sequitur, nullo duce ducitur nec agit nec agitur,	ydeas ac numeros, calles currens asperos. Cicero rinoceros; cornu tutans humeros.
	33. Plato, Sortes tradita ratione posita Ciceronis merita	talenta multiplicant, simplis dupla vendicant; Ciceronem iudicant,
<i>T, f. 69v.</i>	quem in mna recondita	ociosum indicant.

30, 4 scit] sit *N* — cum] ex *NT* — pharetrę] pharatre *NT* — 31, 1 in] est *T* — 31, 2 typum gerens] gerens typum *P* — ostii] hostii *NP* — 31, 3 quicquid] quidquid *NP* — 31, 4 perflat] p(ro)flat *P* — 32, 1 ac] et *P* — 32, 3 calles] calle(n)s *P* — 32, 3 ducitur] sequitur *N* — 32, 4 nec agit] cum agitur *P* — tutans] cutans(!) *P* — 33, 1 tradita] credita *PT* — 33, 3-4 iudicant . . . indicant] indicant . . . iudicant *P* — 33, 4 in mna] in ima *N*; nimia *P* —

30, 1: *sed non sic de singulis*, mir unverständlich. — 31, 1: 'Obwohl im Mittelpunkt des Ordens stehend, weiss er in seinem Benehmen nicht das rechte Mass zu halten.' — 31, 2: 'Gleich einer Tür dreht er sich in der Angel.' Dasselbe Bild z.B. in folgenden Versen des *Carmen de Curia Romana* mit Bezug auf den Papst und die Kardinäle gebraucht:

'Nec ratione vacat, quod habent a cardine nomen;
Deservire solent nomina rebus in his:
Porta suos postes sine cardine claudere nescit,
Nec bene praeter eos pastor ovile regit.
Cardo tenet portam, nec quid valet illa remoto
Cardine; sic Papa nil valet absque viris.'

31, 4: *perflat suo turbine*; cf. Vergil., *Aen.* I 87. — *aura favonii*; cf. Catull. LXIV 282; Lucr. I, 11. — 32, 1: Cf. Boethius, *De institutione musica*, passim; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol.*, *Prima Pars*, quaestio 30. — 32, 4: *cornu tutans humeros* vielleicht Anspielung auf die mit zwei 'Hörnern' geschmückte Mitra der Bischöfe und Aebte. Ebenso vergleicht Pierre Bersuire (*Moralitates*, xxiv, cap. 14) einen unwürdigen Geistlichen mit dem grossen Tier der Apokalypse und sagt von ihm, er habe sogar Hörner, 'id est mitram, quando episcopus aut abbas fit.' Vgl. *Carm. Bur.*, ed. Schmeller, p. 15, *Episcopi cornuti* und viele ähnliche Stellen. — 33, 1-4; Cf. *Math.* xxv, 14 ff.; *Luc.* xix, 12 ff. —

- | | |
|---|--|
| 34. Sortes necessarius,
quod hic, potest alius,
plus valent, cum amplius
set ab eis verius | sed Platonem prefero,
nec conversim infero.
alter est in altero.
deputatur Cicero. |
| 35. Si cum Sortis cursibus
et clamant operibus
Cicero si manibus
Pax erit hominibus, | currit conscientia
Platonis eloquia,
procul pellit vicia,
in excelsis gloria. Amen. |

Explicit tractatus fratris Guidonis de Marchia Ordinis Minorum.

34, 1-4 *fehlt P* — 34, 3 plus valent cum] Plato valet *T* — 34, 4 set] et *T* — deputatur] depuratur *T* — 35, 1-4 *fehlt T* — 35, 1 si] sic *P* — currit] currat *N* — 35, 2 clamant operibus] sonant in moribus *N* — 35, 3 Cicero si] sed Cicero *N* — pellit] pellat *N* — vicia] ocia *P* — 35, 4 Pax erit hom. in exc. gl.] deus est in omnibus in pace sint omnia *P* — *Unterschrift (aus N)*] *fehlt PT* — Marchia] machia(!) *N*.

34, 4: *deputatu r'* unterscheidet sich.' — 35, 2: D. h. wenn Plato seinen Reden auch Taten folgen lässt. Dieselbe Mahnung an die Professoren *Carm. Bur.* ed. Hilka-Schumann Nr. 23 (Schmeller Nr. v) Str. 1. — 35, 3 Cf. *Carm. Bur.* ed. Hilka-Schumann Nr. 33 (Schmeller Nr. XIII) 1, 7 *pulso procul vitio* und *Ezech. XLIII, 9* — 35, 4: Kombiniert aus *Luc. II, 14* und *Luc. XIX, 38*.

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THE SONG OF THE ASS

Orientis Partibus, with special reference to *Edgerton MS. 2615*

By HENRY COPLEY GREENE

THE pages¹ here reproduced from the unpublished *Beauvais MS.* at the British Museum suggest certain observations on the texts of the mediaeval *Song of the Ass*, on known variations of its melody, on customs associated with it, especially at Beauvais, and on mediæval music.

I

To represent the Virgin's flight into Egypt, a strange holiday was celebrated yearly in many towns during the Middle Ages. The following account² of the Beauvais celebration is found in a letter of December 18, 1697 from a Canon in Beauvais, Foy de Saint-Hilaire, to M. de Francastel, Assistant Librarian of the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris.

'On the first day after the Octave of the [three] Kings,³ they chose a beautiful young girl, put a child in her hands, and mounted her on an ass which they led in procession from the Cathedral Church to the Church of St Stephen. Placing the ass and his lovely burden in the Sanctuary there on the Gospel side, they sang a solemn mass, whose prose [of the Ass] is in Louvet,⁴ and whose *Introit, Kyrie, Gloria, Credo*, etc., end in *hin ham* [he haw], to the point where *in fine missae sacerdos versus ad populum vice "Ite Missa est" ter hinhanabit* [he-hawed], *populus vero vice "Deo gratias" ter respondavit, "Hinham, Hinham, Hinham"*.⁵

¹ Previously reproduced in so-called facsimile from tracings, *Annales Archéologiques* xvi (1856), 259, 300; also five lines photographically, with no critical study, in E. Duncan, *The Story of the Carol* (London: Walter Scott, 1931), p. 42.

² Dom Paul Denis, *Lettres Autographes de la Collection de Troussures* (Paris: Champion, 1912), p. 312.

³ Foy de Saint-Hilaire is emphatic as to dates: 'We must not confuse the holiday of the Ass with the day [other days] when the prose [of the Ass] was sung; for it is certain that this holiday [when the Ass went into St Stephen's] was neither on Christmas day nor on the day of the Circumcision, nor on the [Three] Kings' day, [but on] the first day after the octave of the [Three] Kings.'

⁴ Pierre Louvet, *Histoire et Antiquités du Diocèse de Beauvais* (Beauvais, 1631-1635), II, 301.

⁵ In connection with this story, Foy de Saint-Hilaire added:

'See what I heard said by my late father, who had seen the whole Donkey Mass, [of] which [the MS.] was kept in our parish church of St Stephen, and which a clerk of the Curé's . . . seized and cruelly burned because of conscientious scruples. His name was Davennes, and I knew him when I was a child.' (Denis, *op. cit.*, 312).

Here are the words¹ of the famous prose of the Ass, as it was sung at the Cathedral of Beauvais.

Orientis partibus
Adventavit Asinus
Pulcher et fortissimus
Sarcinis aptissimus.
Hez hez sire asnes hez.

Hic in collibus Sichen
Iam nutritus sub Rub[en]
Transiit per Iordanem
Saliit in Bethlehem.
Hez hez.

Saltu vincit hynnulos
Dammās et Capreolos
Super dromedarios
Velox madianeos.
Hez hez.

Dum trahit vehicula
Multa cum sarcinula
Illius mandibula
Dura terit pabula.
Hez hez.

Cum aristis ordeum
Comedit [et carduum
Triticum a pale] a
Segregat in area.
hez hez.

Amen dicas, asine
Iam satur ex gramine
Amen Amen itera
Aspernare vetera.

Hez va hez va hez va hez
Biax [sire asnes] car allez
Bele bouche car chantez.²

Out from lands of Orient
Was the ass divinely sent.
Strong and very fair was he,
Bearing burdens gallantly.
Heigh, sir ass, oh heigh.

In the hills of Sichen bred
Under Reuben nourished,
Jordan stream he traversèd,
Into Bethlehem he sped.
Heigh, heigh!

Higher leaped than goats can bound,
Doe and roebuck circled round,
Median dromedaries' speed
Overcame, and took the lead.
Heigh, heigh!

While he drags long carriages
Loaded down with baggages,
He, with jaws insatiate,
Fodder hard doth masticate.
Heigh, heigh!

Chews the ears with barley corn,
Thistle down with thistle corn.
On the threshing floor his feet
Separate the chaff from wheat.
Heigh, heigh!

Stuffed with grass, yet speak and say
Amen, ass, with every bray:
Amen, amen, say again:
Ancient sins hold in disdain.

Heigh ho, heigh ho, heigh ho, heigh
Fair Sir Ass, you trot all day;
Fair your mouth, and loud your bray.

These words must have been sung in the Cathedral of Beauvais early in the XIIIth century.³ As for the story of the pretty girl riding

¹ Latin text, Br. Mus. *Edgerton MS. 2615*, ff 1, 2, from photos in possession of the author. The same prose occurs a second time in the same MS. ff 43, 44. Where illegible, the words are inserted between brackets from ff. 43, 44 (numbering on MS. ff. 41, 42), see reproductions.

² These three lines are omitted in the second version, which also has a single *hez* for the refrain.

³ This MS. was written probably during the pontificate of Gregory IX (1217-1241) and before the marriage of Louis IX to Marguerite of Provence in 1234 (see ff 42, 42b). *Catalogue*

an ass into the church and up beside the altar, it has been told and retold, quoted and re-quoted. Hitherto, in tracing these quotations down, the student eventually arrived at Ducange, or rather, his later editors.¹ In the Glossarium of 1733 (*s. v. Festum asinorum*) this story appears with the Prose² from 'praeter edita MS. codex 500. anorum.' Now this account (save some slight additions) is virtually identical with Foy de Saint-Hilaire's description of 1697, quoted above. So close is the correspondence that we must conclude either that the later editors of Ducange quoted from Foy de Saint-Hilaire or used the same MS. that he used.³

But these editors did more. They printed a longer version of our song, as sung at the Church of St Stephen. After the first stanza they inserted:

'Hez, sire asnes, car chantez,
Belle bouche rechignez,
Vous aurez du foin assez
Et de l'avoine à plantez.

Lentus erat pedibus
Nisi foret baculus
Et eum in clunibus
Pungeret aculeus.

Hez, Sire Asnes, &c.'

'Heigh, sir ass, you sing hee-haw,
Your fair mouth's a sulky maw;
You shall have your fill of hay,
Oats enough to cast away.

Slow he went on lagging feet
Till the rod began to beat,
And the pointed goad to prick,
Thigh and sides, and make him kick.

Heigh, sir Ass, oh heigh.'

After the second stanza of our version they also inserted:

'Ecce magnis auribus
Subiugalis filius
Asinus egregius
Asinorum dominus.

Hez, Sire Asnes, &c.

'With his flapping ears and long
Lo the harnessed son of song.
He is chosen: hear his call,
Ass of asses, lord of all.'

of *Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1882-1887* (London, 1889), pp. 336-337.

¹ See E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford University Press, 1903), I, 287.

² Ducange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et infimae Latinitatis* (Paris, 1733), III, 426-427.

³ The sequence of events makes this probability almost a certainty. The 1681 edition of Ducange did not refer to the Beauvais ceremonies. M. de Francastel, at the Bibliothèque Mazarine, writes M. de Saint-Hilaire on behalf of a 'man of letters' who wants a memoir about 'the mass, the prose, and the opera of the Ass,' with a 'copy of anything remarkable in the Mass' (Denis, *op. cit.*, 319) Foy de St Hilaire, sends on December 18, 1697 a full report (*ibid.*, 311-313) which M. de Francastel acknowledges (*ibid.*, 320). The 1733 edition of Ducange contains Foy de Saint-Hilaire's story of the ceremonies, the text of *Oriens Partibus*, and other matters to which he refers.

and after our third verse:

'Aurum de Arabia
Thus et myrram de Saba
Tulit in ecclesia
Virtus asinaria.
Hez, sire Asnes, &c.'

'Red gold from Arabia,
Frankincense and, from Sheba,
Myrrh he brought and, through the door,
Into the Church he bravely bore.'

After *Amen, dicas Asine*, they also inserted a rubric: *hic genuflectebatur*.

In addition to the *Edgerton 2615* and Ducange versions, two others are known, (1) from Sens, and (2) from Bourges.

The Sens version, of about 1200 A.D., in a Mass attributed to Pierre de Corbeil and admirably published by the Abbé Henri Villetard,¹ is like our *Edgerton 2615* text, except that it introduces the verse beginning *Aurum de Arabia* after the third stanza, and that it omits the final lines in French.

The Bourges version, reported by the Abbé d'Artigny,² is also like our first Beauvais version except that it places the stanza beginning *Aurum de Arabia* after the fifth stanza; and that it changes *Iam satur ex gramine*, in the last stanza, to *Iam satis de carmine*. The Abbé d'Artigny was assured that his version was faithfully copied from a Gothic book given by the Canon Jean Sartoris to the Church of Notre Dame de Sales at Bourges. It is to be hoped that someone may unearth this MS., and establish its character and date.

To return to the stanzas from the *Glossarium* of Ducange: while 'Lentus erat pedibus' seems uncharacteristic of our bounding Ass, it may be meant to represent him before he was inspired with the divine fire; and the additional French verse is lively enough to add zest to a query as to where the editors found it.

Gustave Desjardins³ asserts that the later editors of Ducange copied their version of the song from a 'MS. of the twelfth Century' described as *No. 76* in the 1464 inventory of the relics and other ornaments of the Cathedral of Beauvais. Chambers⁴ identifies this with

¹ Henri Villetard, *Office de Pierre de Corbeil* (Paris: Picard, 1907).

² *Nouveaux Mémoires* (Paris, 1756), 77.

³ G. Desjardins, *Histoire de la Cathédrale de Beauvais* (Beauvais, 1865), p. 127, note 1.

⁴ E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), I, 284, note 2, says: 'This (and not the MS. used by Ducange's editors) is the MS. whose description Desjardins, 127, 168, gives

the *Edgerton MS. 2615* which does not contain the additional Ducange verses.

Desjardins also cites¹ Pierre Louvet's description of a Beauvais ceremony including an ass. From a twelfth century MS., Louvet quotes a version of the *Orientis Partibus*² practically identical with the *Edgerton MS.* version quoted above, but without the final lines in French, or the additional verses printed in Ducange.

Chambers,³ who dates Louvet's MS. as of 1160-1180, quotes an eighteenth-century account of the ceremonial from Dom Grenier.⁴ Louvet's seventeenth century account⁵ is far simpler.

'On the Day of the Circumcision,' he says, 'I find that, in the time of my lord Henry of France, Bishop of Beauvais, they made public prayers and petitions not only for the Pope and for the Diocesan, but also for the King, the Queen, and for the Christian Army; and that on that day, divine service was done with greater joy than on any other day in the year. The more so as at Matins 19 proses, with organ playing, were sung, among others one beginning with these words, "Calendas Ianuarias solemnes Christe facias, &c." The *Introit* of the Mass, the *Kyrie Eleyson*, the *Gloria in excelsis*, the Epistle, the *Credo*, the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* were sung with Paraphrase: sung also were three proses, one after the *Introit*, another before the Gospel, and the last after the offertory. After the *Gloria in excelsis*, the aforesaid prayers and petitions were conceived in the form of a Litany in these terms, *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, etc.*' [Here follow prayers for Pope Alexander, Henry, Bishop of the Church, King Louis, the Queen, and all Judges]. 'Before the beginning the *first vespers* there were sung outside the Church doors and in front of them these lines

"Lux hodie, lux laetitiae, me iudice tristis
[four lines ending with],

from a 1464 Beauvais inventory; No. 76: item ung petit volume . . . commencent au 11^e feuillet *Belle bouche* et au penultième, *coopertum stolla candida*.' This description fits *Edgerton MS. 2615* like a glove. Yet no less an authority than H. Omont says (*Bulletin de l'Ecole des Chartes*, LXXIV, 258) that *Edgerton MS. 2615* was described by Louvet in his History (pp. 296-302). Louvet described an earlier MS. But *Edgerton MS. 2615* was evidently described in 1697 by Foy de Saint-Hilaire, who specified the *Orientis Partibus* in three parts in counterpoint, and quoted the first and last stanzas from Daniel in the same MS. (Denis, *op. cit.*, p. 312).

¹ Desjardins, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125.

² Louvet, *op. cit.*, II, 301.

³ *Op. cit.*, II, 265.

⁴ Dom P. N. Grenier, *Introduction à l'Histoire Générale de la Picardie* (Amiens, 1856), pp. 362-364.

⁵ Louvet, *op. cit.*, II, 299-302.

Laeta volunt qui cumque colunt Asinaria festa".¹

[Then follows a passage which expresses Louvet's mistaken idea that a man in disguise acted the part of the ass] 'While the man who took the part of the Ass was conducted to the table, they sang this ode [the prose of the Ass, six stanzas]. 'After the reading of the *Tablet*' [account of the Ceremonial], Louvet continues, 'they sang *Deus in Adventorium*, then the *Veni Creator*, then on the steps, they sang,

"Haec est clara dies clarorum clara dierum"

[etc. four lines] Then before the Altar they sang,

"Salve feste dies toto venerabiles aevo
Qua Deus est ortus virginis ex utero."

Then two more proses, after the end of which they sang the Antiphony *Ecce Annuncio* and the psalm *Dixit Dominus*.

Louvet's account of the first Vespers goes no further. It should be noted that he says nothing about the Ass being present at the Mass.

Foy de Saint-Hilaire chides Louvet for not mentioning that in the *Tablet*¹ is written 'Hic die incensabitur cum boudino et saucisa'² ('censing with pudding and sausage'), a detail not forgotten by Dom Grenier,³ who seems to have amplified Louvet's⁴ description of this MS. from his copy⁵ of *Edgerton 2615* as well as from Ducange. The resemblance includes the excision of certain pages which appear to have been removed from *Edgerton 2615*. But Dom Grenier brings the Ass to the Mass instead of to vespers.

On the evidence before us, we may provisionally list the existing versions of *Orientis Partibus* (excluding the Bourges version) as follows: — Louvet's version, 1160–1180; the Sens version, attributable to the beginning of the thirteenth century;⁶ the Beauvais version, *Edgerton MS. 2615*, probably 1227–1234; the Ducange version, still vaguely dated (except for the *Aurum de Arabia* verse which is in the Sens MS.).

¹ On a separate sheet accompanying his letter, Foy de Saint-Hilaire described this twelfth-century *Tablet* as a MS. from which pages had been removed, which probably contained a record of usages which later times preferred to suppress. (p. 313, note 3.) He also pointed out (312) the suspiciously similar removal of pages from *Edgerton 2615*.

² *Lettres Autographes*, p. 311.

³ Dom Grenier, *op. cit.*, 363.

⁴ See Chambers I, 268, note 1. Chambers leaves this vaguer than if he had known Louvet's text, and compared it with *Edgerton 2615*.

⁵ B. N. *Picardie* 158.

⁶ Arguments for this approximate date are given in Villetard, *op. cit.*, 15–17.

The twelfth and thirteenth century festival of the Ass has been so energetically discussed that only a few points remain to be emphasized, in relation to the Beauvais manuscript. Men have argued back and forth as to whether the Ass actually went into the churches. In the Procession of the Prophets, Balaam rode his ass into the Rouen cathedral.¹ Very likely the Virgin rode her ass into the Cathedral at Beauvais. The assertions that she did so, however, are generally based on the Ducange statement that she rode the ass, not into the cathedral, but from it to the Church of St Stephen: 'super asinum . . . sedens, ab Ecclesia Cathedrali ad parochiam S. Stephani . . . ducebatur. Ad parochiam . . . sanctorium ipsum ingrediebatur puella.' As shown above, the MS. of the special mass there was burned.

The Beauvais manuscript has also been used to prove that the Ass was led into the Cathedral of Beauvais. Chambers wrote, in reference to this MS.: 'the heading *conductus quando asinus adducitur* seems to show that there at least the Ass appeared and even entered the church'.² Now the damaged first page apparently reads *cunductus asi-[ni cum] adducit-[ur]*.³ By itself, this text scarcely seems to establish whether the Ass was at the Cathedral door, or inside, when the *Orientis Partibus* was first sung at the opening of Vespers. The subsequent rubrics do not mention the Ass at all. Even if the twelfth century ceremonial described by Louvet persisted at Beauvais Cathedral, the Ass was led in before the *Deus in Adventorium*.

The same phrase has been misquoted⁴ as the rubric before the second version of *Orientis Partibus* sung at the Mass, just after the epistle. As may be seen in our reproduction (Plate I), the actual rubric makes no mention of the Ass: it reads, *Conduct[us] subdiaconi ad Ep[isto]lam*, which certainly does not mean that the Ass was present at the Mass. On the whole, therefore, the evidence of this manuscript is pretty definite as to the Mass but inconclusive as to vespers.

¹ A. Gasté, *Les Drames Liturgiques de la Cathédrale de Rouen* (Evreux, 1893), pp. 4-22.

² Chambers, I, 331. See, however, p. 285, note 2, where he says, 'to me it reads like "Conductus asi . . . adducitur".'

³ Photograph in possession of author. See also Villetard, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

⁴ See Villetard, p. 232, 4^o.

dia uita Xps unicit. x. r. **L**iberatio & redemp
 tio uita Xps unicit. x. r. **D**efensio & protectio
 nra Xps unicit. x. r. **I**psi soli imperium glo
 ria & potestas per immortalia secula seculor Amen.
Ipsi soli honor laus & iubilatio per infinita secula
 seculor Amen. **I**psi soli uirtus. fortitudo & vic
 toria per omnia secula seculor amen. **R** Kyrie eleison.
 Concludit libedi
Xpe audi nos. **R** Kyrie eleison. a con. do. Snam.
Orientis partibus aduenit asinus pulcher

II

Orientis Partibus was sung to different melodies, of which two principal ones are known, the Sens and the Beauvais versions.¹ Let us consider the Sens melody before studying the version in the Beauvais MS. here reproduced. The Sens melody, which has the quality of a popular sacred song,² is as follows:

G A B G A F G
 O-ri-en-tis par-ti-bus
 D D E C D D B
 Ad-ven-ta-vit As-in-us
 B A C B A G B
 Pul-cher et for-tis-si-mus
 D C B G A F G
 Sar-cin-is apt-tis-si-mus
 G A B A G
 Hez, sir as-nes, hez.

Almost anyone can pick out this glad little tune for himself on the piano. As to time, the notes are equal.³ There are neither flats nor sharps. The melody, beginning and ending with G, is in the Myxolidian mode. Much of the foregoing appears obvious after the years of study which have now been devoted to Gregorian music. In 1780, when the tune was printed by Laborde,⁴ musicians naturally 'edited' the musical text to suit their own prejudices. Laborde in 1780 rewrote it into 6/8 time and inserted one sharp, thus forcing the tune into the modern key of G major.

In 1806 Millin⁵ copied Laborde. On April 29, 1847, Félix Clément⁶ had the *Orientis Partibus* (still in G major) sung at the Collège Stanislas, Paris, before an audience of perhaps a thousand people, who were astonished and delighted by a mediaeval song which they had

¹ Desjardins, *op. cit.*, p. 134 mistakenly asserts that 'the music is the same in the MSS of Sens and Beauvais.' He quotes the Sens version, with one note wrong.

² Such songs are still sung in church in Catalonia (where they are called *goigs*), in Provence, and presumably in other unsophisticated regions.

³ The photographic reproduction of the MS. in Villetard, *op. cit.*, plate II, makes this clear. The few tailed notes are irregularly distributed; 3 in verse 1; 2 in verse 2; 3 in verse 3; 3 in verse 4; 2 in verse 5; 10 in verse 6; 10 in verse 7; they seem to indicate accent rather than time.

⁴ J. B. Laborde, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* (Paris, 1780), II, 234.

⁵ H. L. Millin, *Monuments Antiques* (Paris, 1806), II, 348.

⁶ *Annales Archéologiques*, VI (1846), 304, and VII (1847), 26.

never before heard. He led this song in 1849 at the Sainte Chapelle, and again at Saint Eustache, in 1875, before four thousand people.¹

Though a fairly close 'facsimile' (from a tracing of the MS. fol. 1) had been published² in 1847, neither Clément³ nor his successors⁴ could escape their prejudice in favor of the modern scale. In 1853, when Redhead arranged the melody as a hymn in four parts,⁵ he followed Clément in transferring it to the major scale; he also added ornamental notes *BC* for *adventavit* and *GA* for *fortissimus*; as for the rhythm, he transcribed the melody in 4/4 time, with the notes generally (not always) equal. In *Hymns Ancient and Modern*,⁶ the arrangement, adapted from Redhead, is in 4/4, 3/4 time, and in the modern key of G major. From *Hymns Ancient and Modern* it was transferred to the American Episcopal *Hymnal*. The Song of the Ass is now also sung, from the *Harvard University Hymn Book*, in 3/4 time, F major, (without Redhead's ornaments) to Wesley's words: 'Christ the Lord is Risen Today.'⁷

In the Middle Ages, the less known Beauvais version was sung twice; first, in one part, at the opening of Vespers, (ff. 1, 2) and again, in three parts, (ff. 43, 44) in the Mass. The three-part arrangement, here photographically reproduced, was studied by Coussemaker⁸ in 1856 from a 'very faithful and exact reproduction from a tracing of the manuscript itself'; but as the manuscript was then owned by Signor Pacchiarotti of Padua, Coussemaker never saw the original.

Miss Anne L. Thorpe, who has kindly inspected the manuscript for me in the British Museum, reports:

'Folio 1^r, the four staff lines are vermillion red, the notes black. The Capital *O* at the beginning of the song is blue-green with fine red scroll work. Subsequent capitals, beginning each verse, alternate red and blue green. . . . In

¹ Villetard, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

² *Annales Archéologiques*, VII, 26.

³ *Annales*, VII, 27.

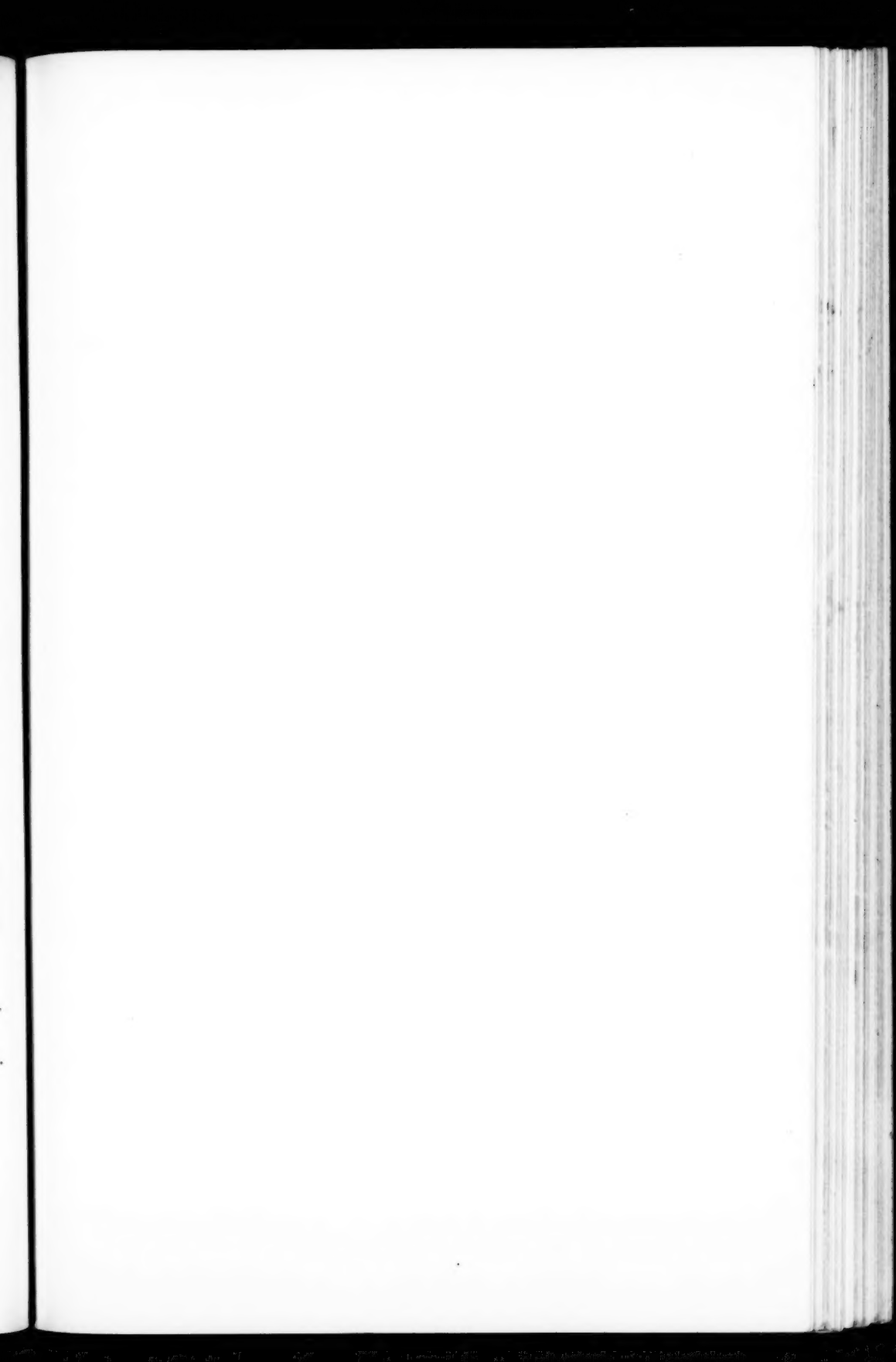
⁴ For instance, J. B. Weckerlin, *La Chanson Populaire du Pays de France* (Paris, 1903), I, 5.

⁵ Richard Redhead, *Church Hymn Tunes*, London: (1853).

⁶ *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, (Historical edition, London, 1909, 545.

⁷ C. E. Moore and A. T. Davison, *Harvard University Hymn Book* (Cambridge, 1926), No. 72; also to the words of three other hymns, Nos. 71, 87, 105.

⁸ *Annales Archéologiques* XVI (1856), 300, reproduction facing 259, 300.



et fortissimus sarcinus apertissimus. Hec bez

sive alius bez. Hic in collibus sychem iam nu

tritus sub Ruben transiit per iordanem salit

in bethleem. Hec. Saluti uncti hyminulos

comparing the three-part version (folio 43) you can see that the ascending notes of the first phrase have . . . been erased (in the singer's part) and changed.'

The 1856 'exact reproduction' shows this alteration over the syllables *vincit hynnulos* in the third stanza, but not elsewhere; and Coussemaker fails to mention it. In the photographs here reproduced, the alteration is clearly shown over the first words of each stanza.

The original melody can still be distinguished, except over the syllables [*Orien*]tis partibus in the first stanza. Now assuming for the moment that the clef is the same, this melody corresponds, note for note, with the melody sung to the same words at the beginning of the service:

G A B C D C B
O-ri-en-tis Par-ti-bus

D D E C D C B
Ad-ven-ta-vit As-in-us

D C B B B G AB
Pul-cher et for-tis-si-mus

C B B G A F G
Sar-cin-is Ap-tis-si-mus

As altered, however, the first phrase reads:

G A B G A F G
O-ri-en-tis par-ti-bus

And this is exactly the opening phrase of the Sens version.

A curious fact is important here. In the first Beauvais version the clef is C on the third line¹ throughout the song. In the second version we find, in the voice part, that an F clef on the third line is generally substituted for the C. The clef, however, is clearly C over the syllables *dam*[mas] and *ma*[dianeos] in stanza three (Pl. III); and over *Cum* and *pa*[bula] in stanza four. In other words, there is a change of clef from F to C in the middle of stanza three; and from C to F in the second line of stanza five (Pl. IV). This makes that phrase read, not:

¹ In modern music we find, in the treble, a symbol standing for G on the second line: the space above that is A; the space below F, etc. In mediaeval music the letter C may be placed on any line desired, say the third. Then any note on that line is read C; in the space below it, B; etc.

The Song of the Ass

D D E C D C B
Co-me-dit et car-du-um

but:

D D E F G F E
Co-me-dit et car-du-um.

In other words, a shift, like a geological fault, occurs. The musical phrase is broken in the middle. The result is musical nonsense.

If we now examine the F clefs more closely, for instance over the word *et* in stanza one, (Pl. II) and over the word *in* in the last line of stanza two (Pl. II) we easily make out a C half obscured by the F. If we then compare the F clefs for the voice part with the F clefs in the other parts, for instance over *velox* in stanza three, *cum* and *dura* in stanza four, and *segregat* in stanza five, we see that these latter F's are fresher and sharper in outline; in other words, that they have not been made over from something else, or written where a C has been erased.¹ What must the conclusion be? That these F clefs, for the voice part, should be disregarded; and the melody restored to the form in which it remains for most of the third stanza and all of the fourth and part of the fifth (Plate III). Granted that this conclusion is correct, why were these alterations made? One may guess at the motive from the results. The change in the first phrase, from

G A B C D C B
O-ri-en-tis par-ti-bus

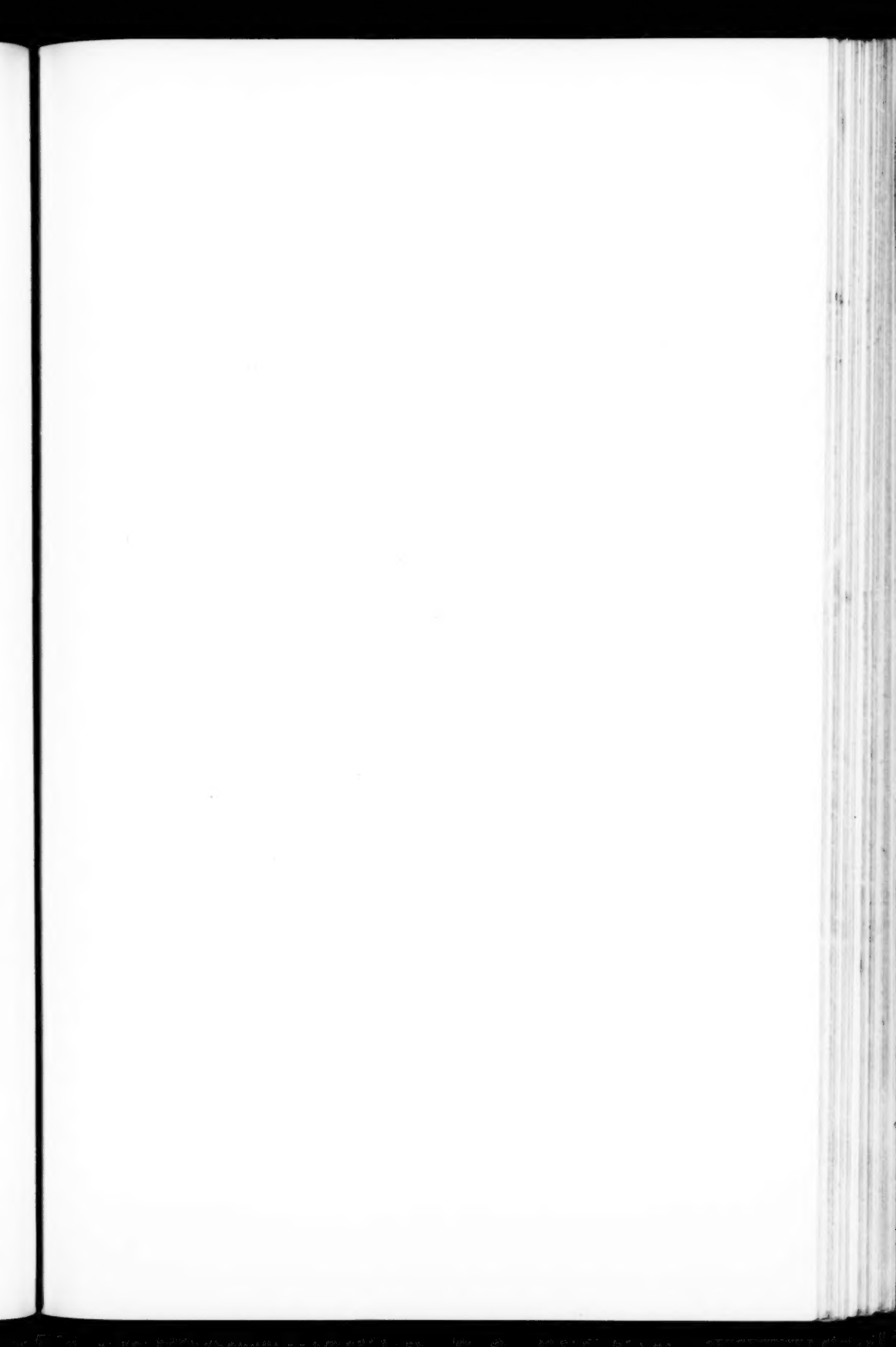
to

G A B G A F G
O-ri-en-tis par-ti-bus

transforms the opening of the smooth, somewhat ecclesiastical Beauvais melody into the corresponding phrase of the popular Sens tune. The substitution of an F for C clef shifts the voice part out of the myxolydian mode (GABCDEF G), into that non-ecclesiastical Ionian (CDEFGABC) which we now call the scale of C major. We may therefore guess that the man who tampered with the manuscript had a preference for a popular tune in a lay mode or scale.

That man probably had still another motive, as one sees when con-

¹ The writer has photographs of all the other three-part music in this Mass, fols. 69-94^{vo}; nowhere does evidence appear, on these folios, of altered clefs or notes.



Sammaf ex capitolof super diomedarios uelox

madyanos. hez Dum trahit uehicula multa

cuni facinula illul mandibilla diua terit

pabula. hez. Cum arctis ordeum comedit

sidering the relations between the different parts in this piece. The middle and upper parts, which seem to be instrumental, consist of two pleasant little melodies, each corresponding to one stanza of the text. Each melody recurs again and again throughout the piece with only such slight variations as occasionally substituting a plica for a square note. When these two melodies are played against each other, the effect, though primitive to modern ears, is never dissonant. When, however, the voice part, in the first Beauvais form, is sung against these parts, a difficulty presents itself. At the end of the very first line, *Orientis partibus*, B, in the voice, clashes against CG in the instruments. In singing these words to the Sens version of the tune (whose note for the final syllable *bus* is G), this discord is avoided.

The amender of this musical text paid no attention to the similar, though less important dissonances which occur in singing the syllables

Pulcher et fortissimus
Sarcinis aptissimus

Such transitional dissonances being familiar in thirteenth century music, he presumably did not object to them. But changing the clef, as he has done, results in substituting new discords for old ones, for instance, the adjacent notes, or seconds, corresponding with the syllables:

Pulcher et fortissimus

The music shown in our reproductions is significant as a specimen of early thirteenth century composition. It is in three parts, the bottom one with words over it, the middle and the top one without words. While the lowest of the three parts is obviously for voice, the two upper parts seem more appropriate for instruments. The first two notes, G C in the middle part and C G in the top part, correspond to nothing in the text; similarly the G C and C G after *hez*, *sire asnes*, *hez*. If sung at all, these notes must have been sung without words. It seems far more probable that they were performed on instruments. Moreover, since the taste of the time called for melodies played against each other rather than for successive chords, the notes just quoted would require instruments of different quality: otherwise G C and C G would sound, not like a descending pair of notes played

against an ascending pair, but like one chord G C, repeated. These two parts were therefore probably carried by instruments of different tone-color, such as a viol and a pipe, or perhaps by the organ which was frequently used in these services at Beauvais.¹

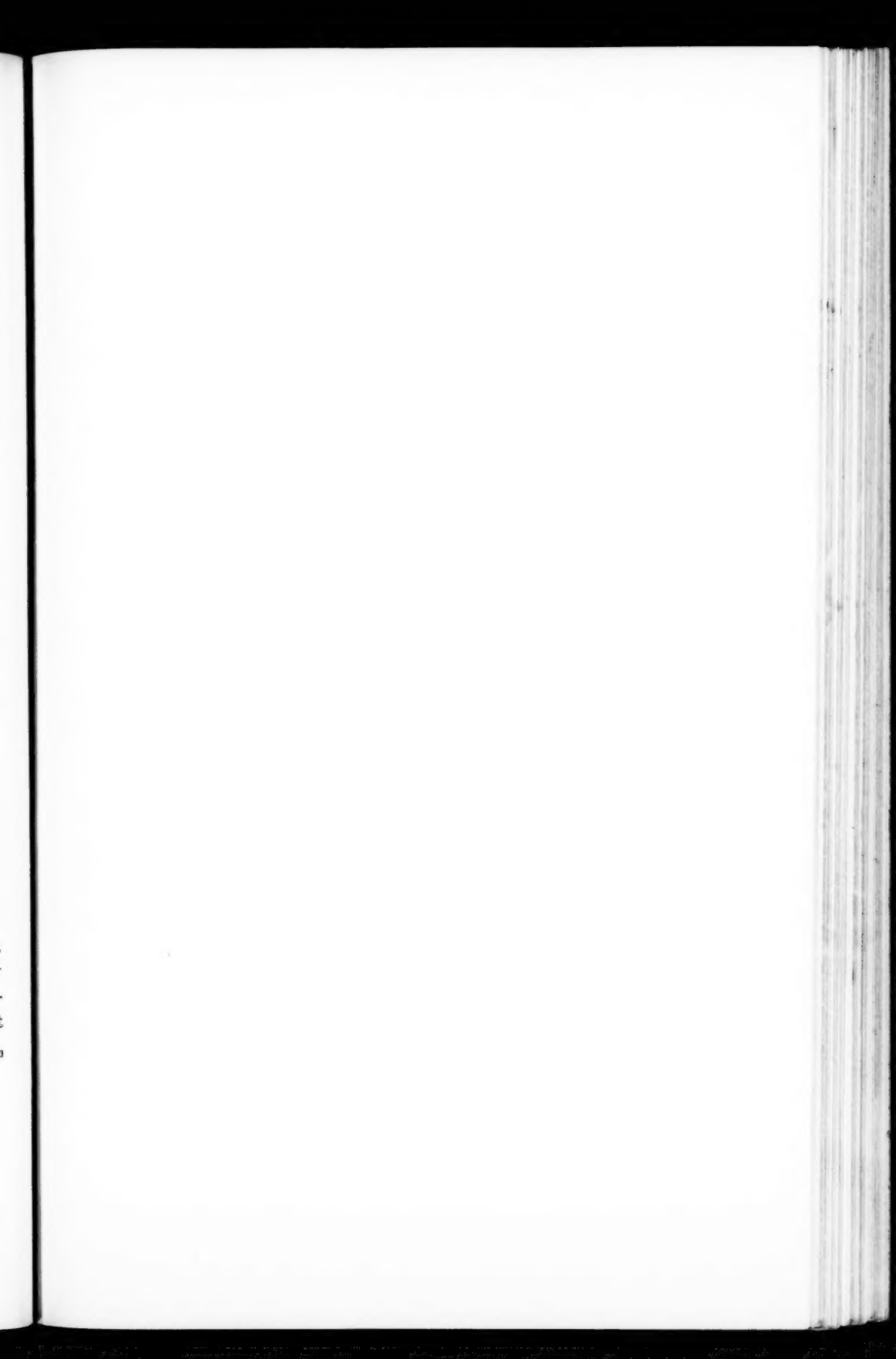
The voice part, or tenor as it was usually called, may have been written by a different scribe from the upper parts. Those include plicas, but no tailed notes: the tenor part has no plicas; and the ligatures in the tenor look less stocky and more free in outline than do those in the upper parts. The composer of these instrumental parts achieved an agreeable and varied composition.

As we have seen, the relations of the tenor to this two-part composition were displeasing to some one. In the thirteenth century, a tenor was sometimes altered or even a new one substituted.² In this case some scribe apparently started to do just that. Whether he had the Sens version in mind (as I have suggested), we cannot know. Other variants may well have been current and even on record, for instance in that lost twelfth century Beauvais manuscript. However that may be, this scribe, who bungled his penmanship (as any one can see), may well have bungled his musical work as well. He certainly left it incomplete. As to the MS. as a three-part composition, judgment must therefore be withheld and the composition regarded as a specimen of music in process of change.

Professor Jean B. Beck, as well as Pierre Aubry under his inspiration, and other investigators, has recently done so much work on the 'measured music' of the thirteenth century that this manuscript must at least be considered in that relation. In contrast with plain chant, measured music marks the beginnings of our modern time system. In plain chant, the notes are all of equal time value. In measured music, different forms of note (for instance tailed notes and square notes) have different time values. In early specimens of measured music, such differences are apparently often suggested rather than clearly denoted. The specimen here reproduced shows no regular use of different note forms to indicate different time durations. Does that

¹ See rubrics, Villetard, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-226. The rubrics do not, however, specify the organ at this point.

² Pierre Aubry, *Cent Motets du XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1908), III, 31



et cardum triticum a palea segregat in area.
 Dez. Amen dicat asine iam satur ex grami
 ne Amen Amen uera aspernare uerera. Dez.
 Audem deo dicam per secula. Lyla. Duo.
 Qui me plasmavit in manu dextera. Et uerba

mean that it is not measured music, or should this specimen perhaps be classed as a specimen from that 'old period of measured music in which no special signs stand for differences of duration'?¹

Let us look at the facts. The notation is more primitive than that of known measured music such as Jean de Lescurel's,² or that of the Bamberg³ MS. motets, or even of less advanced types.⁴ It therefore

Dum tra-hit ve-hi-cu-la mul-ta cum sar-cin-u-la

Il-li-us man-di-bu-la du-ra Te-rit pa-bu-la. hez.

appears reasonable to put rhythmic preconceptions aside for a moment, and look at the notes themselves. The notation is simple. We find, besides the ordinary square note, only the tailed note, the ligature,⁵ and the plica.⁶ As the tailed notes, which appear only in the voice part, correspond to square notes in the other parts, and since they occur irregularly,⁷ they seem to indicate emphasis rather than duration. The ligatures in the tenor correspond to two square notes

¹ *Cent Motets*, p. 144.

² Le Roman de Fauvel, *Reproductions photographiques* (Paris, 1907).

³ *Cent Motets*.

⁴ See Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde* (Leipzig, 1913), I, part III.

⁵ Two notes tied together.

⁶ A special form indicating a note trailing off into the adjacent note. At a later period it had definite time values.

⁷ Compare, for instance, *Dum trahit* and *cum aristas*.

in the upper parts; while the ligatures in the upper parts correspond to single square notes in the voice part. The plicas, which occur in the upper parts only, correspond to single square notes in the tenor. Square notes therefore seem to be the unit of measure. By taking each tailed note and plica as equal to one square note, this three-part version of the *Orientis Partibus* can be logically performed. I suggest this interpretation as probably consistent with the date. It results in a transcription practically in 4/4 time.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY AND NOTES

Manuscripts. Three known Beauvais MSS include the *Orientis Partibus*,— (1) Louvet's lost twelfth-century MS. (2) the thirteenth century *Edgerton 2615*, which Chambers identifies with MS. No. 76 in the Beauvais 1464 catalogue, (3) the complete donkey Mass of the Church of St Stephen which Foy de Saint Hilaire says was burned before 1697. The additional verses, printed by the later Ducange editors in 1733, were apparently not in (1), are not in (2), and if they were in the burned MS. (3), the Ducange editors were too late to find them there, though they might have seen a copy. Charvet (p. 96) says that they took these verses from MS. No. 76. But if No. 76 = *Edgerton 2615*, Charvet must be mistaken. One of these verses, as we have seen, occurs in the Sens MS.

The *Hin ham* refrains to the *Kyrie*, etc., and the *Ite Messa est, hin ham*, are mentioned by Foy de Saint-Hilaire (p. 312) in connection with the St Stephen's Church complete donkey Mass (3); but this does not exclude their possible presence in the Louvet MS. (1) from which Grenier apparently quotes them. As to pudding and sausage censings, Dom Grenier (p. 363, note 1) quotes it from Ducange (*sub voce* *Kalendae*) whose editors say they found it, not even in a rubric of their vague MS. 500 years old, but 'alibi.' Foy de Saint-Hilaire (p. 311) quotes it from the twelfth century *Tablet* (or description of the ceremonial). If this *Tablet*, or the Louvet MS., or copies of either or both of them, can be found, some of these questions can be cleared up.

The editor of the Troussures letters mentions a MS. of probable use to future students (pp. 313–314, note 3) as follows: 'Another MS. in the Troussures Library gives curious details in folio 20 as to the Ass celebration, — *Histoire des Evêques de Beauvais*, by Augustin Le Cat, canon of Beauvais in 1670, 72 folios with coats of arms in color.' Two other MSS are frequently referred to, — Dom Grenier's *B.N. Picardie*, 14 and 158. As to MS. *Picardie 158*, see Villetard, (p. 219 note 1, and 232). *Picardie 14* contains an eighteenth century account of ceremonies at Amiens.

Books. The best work on the celebration of the Ass and connected subjects

is E. K. Chambers' 'The Feast of Fools', in *The Mediaeval Stage*, I, Chaps. XIII, XIV, and II, Appendix I. Instead of printing the music of *Orientis Partibus* from the Sens MS. or from *Edgerton 2615*, Chambers printed it twice (cover of I and I, 262) from Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica*, xx, 257, with a B flat, thus changing the mode in which it was written. Chambers includes an excellent bibliography, (I, 274). He was unable to consult Bourquelot's study in the *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Sens* (1854), which, however, was reprinted: Félix Bourquelot, *L'Office de la Fête des Fous de Sens*, (Sens, 1856). Bourquelot (p. 76) perhaps originated the misstatement that the melody of *Orientis Partibus* is the same at Sens and at Beauvais. He prints (pp. 90-103) considerable extracts from the text of *Edgerton 2615*. Chambers was also unable to consult Louvet, a copy of whose *Histoire* (full title, *supra* p. 534) is accessible in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Chambers mentions, but could not find, E. Charvet on the Beauvais Theatre.¹ Charvet apparently was the first to call attention to Foy de Saint-Hilaire's important letter, which he studied in MS. It has since been published (title *supra* p. 534). Another important work published since Chambers's study is Villetard's *Office de Pierre de Corbeil* (title, *supra* p. 537. This work includes an important bibliographical section (pp. 34-37), also an admirable introduction, complete text and music of the Mass attributed to Pierre de Corbeil, a photographic reproduction (text and music) of the *Orientis Partibus*, and (Appendix II) an important synopsis of the Beauvais Office with text of its rubrics. Villetard has also published the interesting *Alleluia*, Latin and Greek words and music, from *Edgerton 2615* (fol. 45) in *Rossegna Gregoriana* (Roma, 1906), No. 1.

English authors writing on the Feast of the Fools are: Francis Douce, in *Archaeologia* xv (1806), 265; Sharon Turner, *History of England* (London, 1815), II, 368; John Brand, *Observations on Popular Antiquities* (London, 1813), I, 107, Note c; 117. These writers contribute almost nothing to our knowledge of the Feast of Fools in England. E. K. Chambers (I, 321-323) gives a few facts and references. Perhaps he will some time tell us more.

Questions. The Bourges version of *Orientis Partibus*, words and music, remains to be authenticated, also three of the Ducange stanzas. May not other French cities, where the Ass is known to have been honored, yield further versions? For instance Autun, where the congregation sang, 'He, sire ané, hé, hé' (Leber, *Collection de Pièces relatives à l'Histoire de France* [Paris, 1838], IX, 248). Félix Clément, *Histoire Générale de la Musique*, (Paris, 1878), pp. 174-184, who considers the symbolism of the Ass, also describes (p. 181) a January 17 celebration in Madrid, in which an ass is escorted in procession through the 'rue de Hortaleza' by men and women singing Latin hymns. I have not been able to verify this assertion. Was the *Orientis Partibus* sung in Madrid?

¹ *Recherches sur les Anciens Théâtres de Beauvais, Beauvais, 1881.*

OMAN'S MURET

By HOFFMAN NICKERSON

ALL students of mediaeval warfare owe a debt to Sir Charles Oman.¹ In the first place, with the exception of a brief sketch of not much more than two hundred pages by the present writer,² he has given us the only inclusive survey of the art of war in the Middle Ages. In the second, his writing is both graceful and lively — in these days a rare merit deserving of warm praise. Unfortunately, however, his merits are balanced by grave short-comings. Some of these relate to general scholarship. He is so strangely old-fashioned as to write of the Dark Ages as if the great Fustel de Coulanges had never lived. Thus he justifies the employment of barbarians in the armies of the later Roman Empire solely on the ground of their greater mobility,³ not appreciating that they were cheaper to hire than civilized men and also — given their personal loyalty — more apt to be faithful to their original employer in the recurrent outbreaks of civil war. These matters, belonging as they do to general scholarship, may here be lightly passed over.

Confining ourselves to the technique of the military art, we find his work diminished in value by demerits both general and particular. He is possessed of a grossly unmilitary mind; he is capable of saying that the crusading armies which marched upwards of two thousand miles from northern Gaul to Palestine including nearly five hundred miles of desert in Asia Minor, and reconquered the Holy Land from Islam had ' . . . little or no organization!'⁴ I have written in another place⁵ and I repeat here that one would like to see him try to take a war-strength militia company or even a respectable troop of boy scouts out for a few days' peace-time hike without organization and

¹ *The Art of War in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (London, 1924). The map and page references in the notes are from this edition, not the 1-vol. edition of 1898.

² Hoffman Nickerson, 'Warfare in the Roman Empire, the Dark and Middle Ages,' in Spaulding, Nickerson, and Wright: *Warfare* (New York, 1925), pp. 191-411.

³ Oman, *op. cit.*, I, 11-12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 251.

⁵ Hoffman Nickerson, 'Mechanization and Military History,' in *Army Ordnance* (Washington, July, 1929).

plenty of it. Further, he fails to appreciate some of the chief problems with which his subject confronts him. Thus he does not see that the loss by infantry of offensive power and the ability to manoeuvre balances, if indeed it does not cause, the rise of cavalry. He has not a syllable on the influence upon mediaeval tactics of Vegetius and what we may call the Vegetian school; which deficiency in turn leads him astray in his accounts of individual actions, such as that of Stamford Bridge in 1066.¹ He says nothing of the tactical effect of the added weight of plate armor in stiffening late mediaeval cavalry tactics.

Worse still, he does not seem to appreciate the importance of ground. This would be bad enough in dealing with battles of any period, no matter how well documented. Granted the short-comings of most mediaeval chroniclers, it is doubly essential. Down to the sixteenth century, most historians were priests. In their accounts of battles, they are often lacking in precision, leaving out much that the military student wants to know. They never give a map, and seldom a direct statement as to distance, range, or degree of slope. Accordingly, the reconstruction of a mediaeval battle presents difficulties soluble only by interpreting the documents in the light of thorough study of the terrain. But Oman, in his account of Hastings,² gives no contour map, and not even an adequate description of the strongly marked T-shaped ridge involved, although the steepness of its slopes governed the course of the action. So too, in reading his account of Lewes,³ no one would suspect the existence of the abrupt hog-back which is the chief feature of that field.

I have preferred to discuss Muret rather than Hastings or Lewes in part because of its enormous political importance, greater even than Hastings, equal with Châlons or the defeat of Abdurrahman, and exceeded — if at all — only by the three Mohammedan sieges of Constantinople. Had it not been for Muret, the vile Albigensian fanaticism would have destroyed the moral unity of Europe soon after the year 1200. Further, a different result at Muret might well have produced a great Provençal-speaking state on both sides of the Py-

¹ Oman, *op. cit.*, I, 150-151.

² *Ibid.*, I, 152-165.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 424-430.

renees, hindering if not preventing the national formation of both France and Spain.

Besides its political importance, Muret is of high tactical interest. Thanks to an extremely bold and skillful manoeuvre, aided by good fortune and a bad enemy command, a smaller force surprises, defeats, and destroys a far larger one. And this although the victors are peculiarly weak in infantry. In studying such an action, one must begin by establishing the respective positions of the combatants and the exact nature of the manoeuvre. In this regard, Oman's errors are multiform. He misplaces the besieger's camp and therefore misunderstands the final phase of the battle. He hopelessly misrepresents de Montfort's surprise attack. Finally, he also misdirects the decisive charge which decided the event. And all these errors, originally found in his one-volume edition of 1898 (although Delpech had already published his *Tactique au XIIIe Siecle*),¹ are repeated in his two-volume edition of 1924, regardless of the intervening work of Dieulafoy, Devoluy, and Anglade, whose conclusions the present writer has confirmed by careful study of the terrain.²

Briefly, the matter stands thus: in 1886, twelve years before Oman's original one-volume edition, Delpech had already located the besieger's camp and had worked out de Montfort's surprise attack, not perfectly indeed, but nevertheless logically and with some approach to correctness. In 1899, Dieulafoy published his monograph which solved for the first time all the major difficulties connected with the edition. In 1907, Devoluy, an engineer-officer of the French regular army, substantially followed Dieulafoy; and in 1913, Professor Anglade also followed Dieulafoy, at the same time reprinting several of the primary sources.

The uncontested features of the action are as follows: Simon de Montfort, father of that Simon who led in the Barons' war against Henry III of England, had entered Languedoc with the large crusading army of 1208. That army marched against the Provençal nobles who, although not heretics themselves, were nevertheless pro-

¹ H. Delpech, *La Tactique au XIII^e Siecle* (Paris, 1886).

² M. Dieulafoy, *La Bataille de Muret* (Paris, 1899); Devoluy, in *Vieo Provenço*, No. 33 (Sept. 7, 1907); J. Anglade, *La Bataille de Muret* (Paris, 1913).

tecting the Albigensian heresy which was useful to them because its protest seemed to justify their greed for the property of the Church, locally far gone in corruption. De Montfort, an ambitious and sincerely fanatical man, had remained in the country as the heir of the Crusade, administering and even extending its conquests. His troops were few but of excellent quality. As a commander he far excelled his

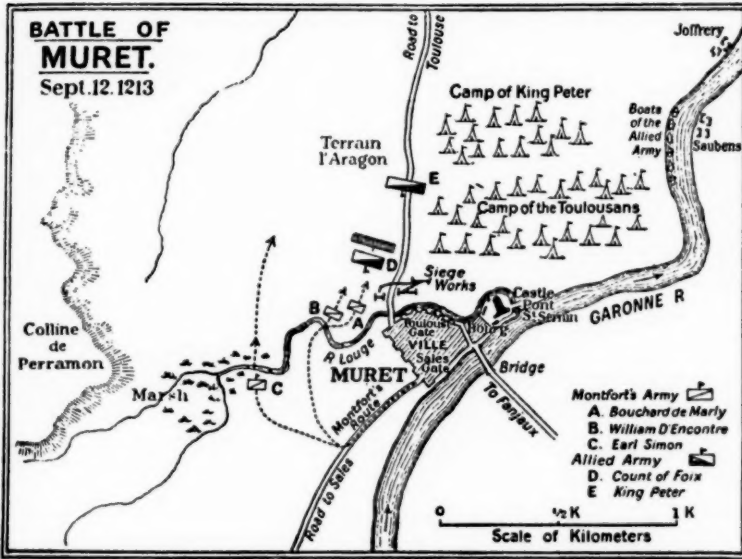


PLATE I
OMAN'S MAP OF MURET

opponents, and from time to time he was temporarily reinforced somewhat by parties of 'French' (i.e. north-French) Crusaders. Based on the stronghold of Carcassonne, the centre of communication between the Mediterranean and the Garonne country, he had by 1213 so reduced the vast territories of Count Raymond VI of Toulouse that the latter effectively held only Toulouse itself and Montauban. De Montfort's method was the time-honored one of mediaeval conquerors from William the Norman dealing with London in 1066 down to Henry IV of France before Paris. It may be

described as distant envelopment or strategic siege. Unable through the financial limitations of the time to support an army capable of investing a first-class mediaeval city, an invader would work around it, devastating the fields and hampering its communications. Usually he would try to peg down the surrounding districts by garrisoning the many small but strong fortresses typical of the time. The late summer of 1213 found de Montfort's strategic siege of Toulouse well advanced. Far to the southwest, he may have had a small post on the upper Garonne in St Gaudens which he had occupied in the high tide of his successes of the previous autumn.¹ Certainly he had a handful of men in Pujols not quite nine miles southeast of Toulouse. Muret, on the left or western bank of the Garonne about ten miles southwest of Toulouse, was held for him by a garrison of thirty knights (representing a minimum of ninety horsemen, for no mediaeval knight took the field without at least two armed and mounted attendants, i.e., a squire and a 'serviens,' a word which we must translate sometimes as 'sergeant', sometimes 'groom')² and seven hundred ill-armed infantry.

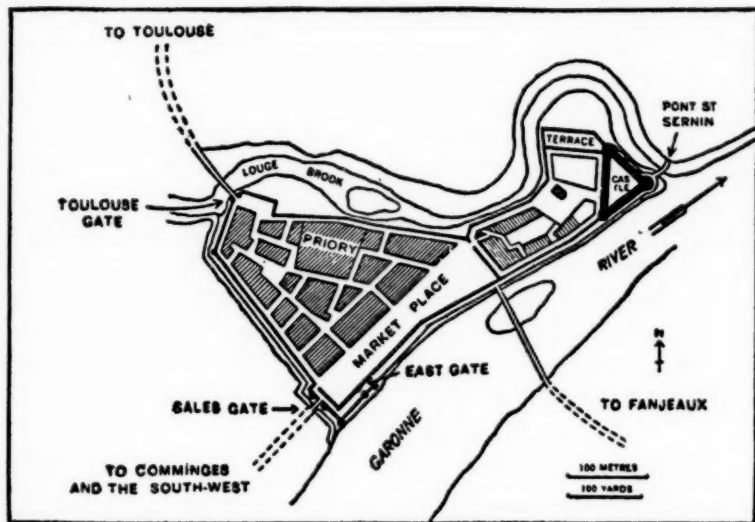
At this juncture, he was confronted by a new and formidable enemy, King Pedro II of Aragon, who marched with a numerous army, and was joined in Toulouse by Raymond and by the Counts of Foix and Comminges. Since the local nobles, despite their losses, were still in far greater force than de Montfort, the addition of Pedro gave them an overwhelming superiority of numbers. Their obvious move was to disengage Toulouse by breaking the strategic siege maintained against that considerable town by de Montfort's tiny garrisons. Accordingly, they destroyed the little crusading force in Pujols and sat down before Muret.

De Montfort was at Fanjeaux. As usual, he was weak in numbers; he could collect only eight hundred horse, of whom however the high proportion of two hundred and seventy were knights. With his little troop he nevertheless pushed on vigorously to throw himself into Muret. Muret stood on a long and narrow triangle of land of which

¹ A. Luchaire, *Innocent III, La Croisade des Albigeois* (Paris, 1911), p. 181.

² Both primary and secondary sources agree as to de Montfort's numbers. Delpach (*op. cit.*, I, 396-419) discusses the personnel of mediaeval cavalry, and especially the vexed question of 'sergeants' at length and conclusively.

the sides along the Garonne and a brook called the Louge, were about 400 yards long and the base somewhat over 200 yards. At the apex of the triangle, the mouth of the Louge was overlooked by a small but strong castle. Near this stronghold was the older town, tolerably fortified. The newer suburb which had grown up to the westward was fortified but weakly. A new wooden bridge not ten years old spanned



TOWN OF MURET 1213

PLATE II*

the Garonne, giving access to a long narrow passage or roadway between the walls and the river from the castle to the southern corner of the suburb. Such is the height of the promontory on which the place stands that the town could not be entered directly from the bridge. To reach it, a traveller from the east would cross the bridge, turn to the left along this passage, and enter by the Sales gate near the southern corner. The Toulouse gate was near the north-western corner.

The banks of the Garonne are high and steep, as are those of the Louge in many places. In general, the river plain is flat. About five-

* Plates II-IV are from the author's study *Warfare*, *loc. cit.*

eighths of a mile up the Louge west of the town is a patch of marshy ground known as Rudelle. West of this swamp, the gentle slopes of the Perramon ridge, the only high ground in the neighborhood, rise to a level of some forty-five feet above the plain. In the latter, about three-quarters of a mile north of the town, lies a slight depression, still a little swampy, whose name 'Les Pesquies,' (i.e., the *piscina*, 'fishpond' or 'tank' of standing water) implies that it was once even wetter. From this marshy area the tiny Pesquies brooklet flows east to the Garonne through a ravine of the same name of which the banks are high and steep.

As de Montfort approached, the southern allies had just stormed the western suburb and might therefore have held the bridge against him, or at least have barricaded the passage leading from the bridgehead to the Sales gate. Pedro, however, preferred to let the crusaders enter, hoping thus to end the war at one blow.¹ Accordingly, the southerners withdrew from the suburb and the crusaders came in; their small numbers were clearly seen and counted as they did so.

After his junction with the garrison, de Montfort could now muster nine hundred horse, including (as will be recalled) the high proportion of three hundred knights. He was doubly compelled to immediate attack by the fact that the place was ill-provisioned, and he further suffered from a political necessity for prompt victory; his new conquests were held only by the terror of his name, so that a check or even a postponed decision would submerge him and his tiny forces under a general insurrection.² Beside his own brain, his chief

¹ P. Meyer, *La Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois* (Paris, 1875), II. 2956-2961. Oman may have used the earlier edition of 1837 instead of Meyer's edition of 1875, but in any case the variations he gives do not affect the sense.

² *Chronicle of William of Puy Laurens*, in Bouquet, *Histoire de France*, XIX, 208; 'Comes Simon, praesumens quod, si forte castrum adversariis resignaret, tota terra insurgeret contra eum et aliis adhaereret, et essent novissima graviora prioribus, . . . satius duxit una die periculum experiri, quam languida prolixitate adversarium adaugere audaciam.' Delpech (*op. cit.*, I, 186) correctly interprets the passage. Oman (I, 451), perhaps through overlooking the latter part of William's sentence, misinterprets Simon's intention by making it primarily defensive and only secondarily offensive: 'He could at least make Muret too strong to fall into the king's hands and hold him in check till there should be time to summon succours from northern France. Perhaps too the enemy might commit some fault which would make it possible to deal a sudden blow at him.' This misses William's point, fully confirmed by the logic of the situa-

asset was the quality and the superb morale of his cavalry, experienced and courageous fighters full of their religion and zealous for martyrdom. He had the further advantage, as Foch recently remarked of Napoleon, of opposing not a unified enemy but a coalition. Indeed, in the southern camp, divergent political interests and personal friction were equally present. Nevertheless, the southern numbers were so enormous (the careful Delpech, who has compared them with the contingents furnished by the same districts on other occasions, puts them at 40,000 infantry and a minimum of 4,000 horse)¹ that de Montfort's position was plainly desperate.

One of the most astonishing victories of military history followed. De Montfort successfully tempted the southerners to attack the point he desired. They did so with part of their great numbers and, failing, withdrew only slightly and put themselves off their guard. By a sudden unexpected rush, he surprised and scattered his late assailants and turned upon the next body of their large but ill-knit force. Pedro was killed, and his immediate followers were killed or routed by a happy combination of front and flank charges; the remaining enemy horse fled, and de Montfort pursued them. Returning from pursuit, he achieved his third successful surprise of the day, this time against the southern foot, whom he found in a fool's paradise because of their belief that the cavalry fight had gone in favor of their side.

Having thus framed the picture, it remains to go over the successive phases of the action, so that the reader may judge whether they could have occurred according to Oman's version, and showing, on the other hand, the formidable converging probabilities — amounting, it is submitted, to moral certainty — in favor of the improve-

tion, as to de Montfort's position. On a far greater scale, compare the political necessity of Napoleon in 1815.

¹ Delpech (*op. cit.*, I, 194-204) reinforces his calculation from his equally detailed study of the numbers present at Bouvines (I, 4-37). One of his cogent points is that the Aragonese royal towns had sent 10,000 communal-militia infantry three hundred miles from northern to southern Spain for Las Navas de Tolosa the year before. Considering the importance of Toulouse, and the short distance, it seems conservative to calculate that that city and Montauban sent 20,000 to Muret. Then there were the southern feudal infantry. Oman (I, 463) says: 'There may possibly have been ten or fifteen thousand foot . . .,' including both communal and feudal infantry.

ments upon Delpech made by Dieulafoy and concurred in by Devoluy and Anglade. Oman puts the besieger's camp east (his site might be more accurately described as northeast) from Muret, on the left bank of the Garonne and close to the left bank of the Louge, near the latter's mouth. He admits that the Perramon ridge west of the town is the traditional site, and he further admits that one of our best authorities, William of Puy-Laurens, says that the camp was west of the town ('cum castra essent ab occidente').¹ But this statement he considers a mere slip of the pen, on the supposition that Puy-Laurens really meant to write east and wrote west by mistake. Oman goes on to give five reasons for this guess:

(1) The Toulousans had a flotilla moored at the back of their camp, close to the tents (*Chanson de la Croisade*, lines 3077-3079).

(2) But the flotilla must have been down-stream from the bridge, as it could not have got past the bridge to the point of the river nearest to Perramon.

(3) The Toulousans could see from their lines the action of individuals on the castle-plateau, especially a misadventure of Count Simon with his horse (Peter of Vaux de Cernay, p. 86). This would have been quite incredible if they had been encamped a mile away.

(4) They could count the Crusaders passing the bridge on their arrival — a thing impossible from any point save one just below and opposite the castle (*Chanson*, line 2989).

(5) The *Philippeis* especially notes that the position of the Toulousans was along the Garonne. 'Stabat adhuc Tholosana phalanx prope fluminis undas, millia dena quater in papilionibus altis,' book v, line 810.²

Now a slip of the pen is always possible; one easily remembers historians of great learning and insight who are congenitally inaccurate in such matters. Nevertheless, such a guess is always under a heavy burden of proof, and requires strong evidence to support it, for, if people habitually or even one-third of the time wrote east when they mean west, north when they mean south, etc., all scholarship and much of human intercourse would become impossible. There could be, for instance, no such thing as staff work in the leading of armies. In the present case, none of the five supporting arguments have

¹ William of Puy Laurens, *loc. cit.*

² Oman, *op. cit.*, I, 457 and note I; I, 465.

weight. (1) The *Chanson* does not say that the Toulousan boats were moored at the back of the camp close to the tents. It says that when they saw de Montfort returning victorious from the cavalry fight 'the Toulousans who had remained in their tents . . . despaired; and Dalmatz de Creixell threw himself into the water . . . , and the Toulousans both great and small ran to the water.'¹ Now we know from several primary authorities that the Toulousans, although they did indeed remain in their tents during the cavalry fight, believed that phase of the action to have been a victory for their side² and, so believing, were attacked by the returning de Montfort, not in their camp, but on their unprotected rear, as they in turn were attacking the town.³ In such a situation, men flee in all directions; those making

¹ Meyer, *op. cit.*, ll. 3077-3079:

'E l'ome de Toloza c'als traps remazutz
Estero tuit essemps malament desperdutz;
En Dalmatz de Creixell es per aiga embatutz.'

Also ll. 3085-3086:

'E l pobles de Toloza, e lo grans e l menutz,
S'en son trastuit essemes ves l'aiga corregutz.'

² William of Puy Laurens, *loc. cit.*, p. 209: 'Populus autem Tolosanus, de castris ubi erant vallati curribus et aliis impedimentis, adhuc cui cessissent victoria ignorabant.'

Chronicle of Peter de Vaux Cernay, in Bouquet, *op. cit.*, xix, 87: 'Dum haec agerentur, cives Tolosani qui remanserant in exercitu infiniti et ad pugnam parati . . . responderunt quod rex Aragonensis vicerat omnes nostros.'

Mandement des Evêques (a circular letter or communiqué issued the day after the battle by the seven bishops with de Montfort), Bouquet, *op. cit.*, p. 89: ' . . . qui de strage residui, adhuc intra sua tentoria morabantur . . . In sua perseverantes malicia, et se, qui iam victi erant, vicisse Christi populum autumantes.'

³ Peter de Vaux Cernay, *loc. cit.*, p. 87: 'Cives Tolosani . . . in expugnando castro totis viribus laborabant.' 'Castro' must here mean the town of Muret. *Chronicle* of Baldwin of Avesnes, *Bib. Nat. MS. 17264*, fol. 363: 'En son retour [Montfort] trouva ceux de Thoulouse qui avaient assailli Muriaux.' *Philippeis (Recueil des Historiens des Gaules, xvii, 815)*: 'Quos [Tholosanos] cum vidisset Bernardus . . . Expectare quasi bellum renovare volentes.' Bernardus is Bernard, bishop of Beziers, who was one of the bishops with de Montfort, all of whom remained in Muret during the fight. In that it confirms Peter de Vaux Cernay and Baldwin this source may here perhaps have some small weight.

Oman (t, 464) is here hopelessly confused. Overriding the authorities just quoted, or ignorant of them, he has stretched the undisputed fact that the Toulousan foot remained in their camp during the cavalry fight into the altogether different statement that they continued to do so after the horsemen, hidden in their heavy dust clouds, had vanished northward toward Toulouse. As if this were not enough, he also distorts the incident of Dalmatz de Creixell into the statement that ' . . . a fugitive, who had thrown himself into the Garonne, swam to the camp and told them that their friends were defeated . . .' In the first place, I can find absolutely nothing to indicate that Dalmatz warned the camp. The *Chanson de la Croisade* (Meyer, *op. cit.*, ll. 3079-3083) merely has him dive in and cry woe. We have previously (l.

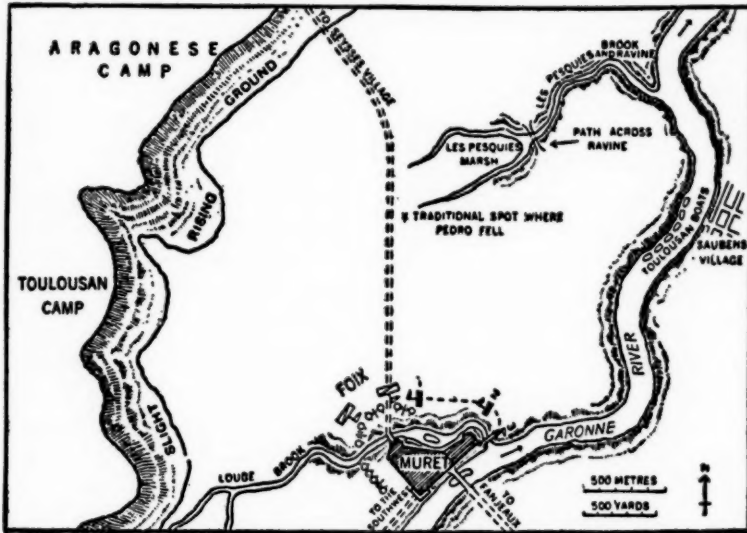
for the camp and the back-country would either escape, or would at most be killed or captured one by one. Those who made for the river would be massacred in a heap on the bank or drowned. It is further probable that de Montfort and the Crusaders would direct most of their effort against fugitives obviously trapped by the river rather than against those who had a better chance of escaping. Accordingly, it was the massacre by the river which struck contemporaries and has been recorded in the *Chanson*. The remaining four arguments need little refutation. (2) Is irrelevant, as the position of the Toulousan boats is undisputed. (3) The raised terrace, which Oman calls the castle plateau, was west of the castle and plainly visible to those on the left flank of the southern detachment supporting the assailants of the Toulouse gate; the present writer has failed to find justification for Oman's statement that those who mocked de Montfort did so 'from their lines.'¹ (4) The Crusaders entering across the bridge could have been counted as easily from the bank up-stream as from down-stream; more easily, in fact, for fire from the high donjon of the castle would keep back those on the bank down-stream, whereas the lower fortifications of the western part of the town were in the power of the besiegers as the Crusaders approached. (5) On such a point the *Philippeis* can hardly be taken seriously. Anglade gives it no historical value as to Muret, a matter on which the reader will judge for

3078) been told that the Toulousans despaired, and subsequently (ll. 3085 ss.) that they ran for the water. But that Dalmatz dived in above (i.e., south of) Muret and swam down with the current some three-eighths of a mile seems not only improbable in itself but also ruled out by Oman's theory of the battle (see his map). On the other hand, that Dalmatz, fleeing in terror from de Montfort's advancing horse, should dive in below the town and then swim up-stream against the rapid Garonne at such amazing speed as to outstrip de Montfort's cavalry, and then haul out at the camp and warn his friends, is flatly impossible. For that matter, no syllable of the *Chanson* suggests that Dalmatz ever reached shore; for all the poem says, he may have been drowned.

¹ For the raised terrace or castle plateau, see Delpech (*op. cit.*, I, 182, n. 2) citing the procès-verbal of the castle's demolition in 1623. See also Dieulafoy (*op. cit.*, p. 12) citing a plan showing foundations still existent in 1811.

As for the Toulousans who mocked de Montfort being 'within their lines,' the passage from Peter de Vaux Cernay to which Oman refers says merely 'quos videntes Tolosani' without a word about lines. See also Dieulafoy (*op. cit.*, p. 24) who interprets the same passage by adding the words: certain Toulousans 'who from the other side of the Louge brook were observing the movements of the besieged,' again without a word as to lines. See also Delpech (*op. cit.*, I, 162), equally silent on the point.

himself when he learns that it has Pedro wounded in single combat by de Montfort, who would have saved his life 'for it is not permitted to a count to kill a king.' But a Crusader, 'who alone had nearly killed two hundred enemies,' attacks the king, and before killing him,



BATTLE OF MURET, SEPT. 11, 1213

1 **ST** PHASE: DE MONTFORT'S SORTIE AND SURPRISE OF FOIX
 ☞ ALLIED CAVALRY ○○○ ALLIED INFANTRY ⚔ CRUSADING CAVALRY (SQUADRONS 1, 2 & 3)
 + CATAPULTS

PLATE III

makes him a long speech in no less than thirty verses of classic reminiscences!¹

We shall see in a moment that the westward position of the camp agrees with that version of de Montfort's manœuvre which alone seems to fit all the known facts. Meanwhile there is another argument, drawn from a passage in Puy-Laurens which Oman mentions but fails to appreciate. William of Puy-Laurens was chaplain to

¹ Anglade (*op. cit.*, p. 29) attributes the poem to Guillaume le Breton, and endorses its editor's characterization of the interminable speech mentioned in the text as: '... ineptus et intempestivus sermo tam prolixus in eo temporis puncto.'

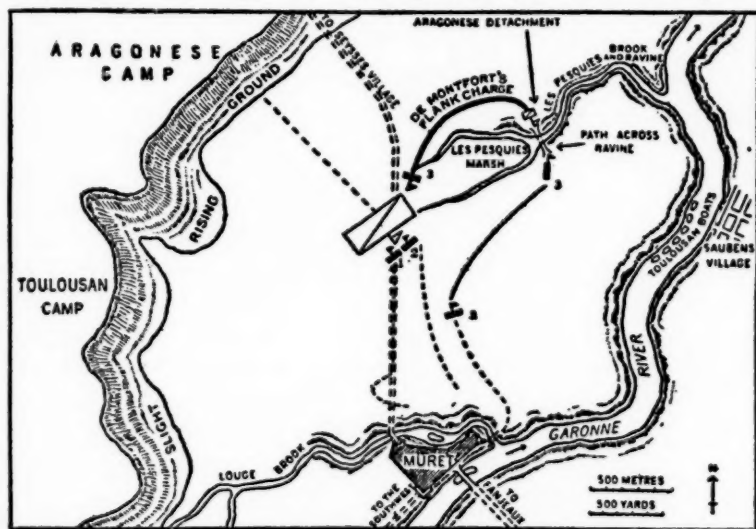
Count Raymond VII of Toulouse, son and heir to de Montfort's contemporary Raymond VI, and the younger Raymond was present at Muret at the age of sixteen. Too young to fight, the young man, boy-like, wanted to watch the battle, and in after years told his chaplain how, in order to do so, he 'was led out of the camp to an eminence whence he could see what took place (*eductus fuit de castris . . . ad locum eminentem unde commissionem videre poterat*).'¹ Now there is no eminence anywhere near Muret except the Perramon ridge; it must therefore have been from there that young Raymond saw the fight. But mark now how the incident bears out William of Puy-Laurens' original statement that the camp itself was west of the town, i.e., on the ridge. If we assume the camp there, the incident is as clear and simple as can be. Since the camp was not as yet directly menaced by de Montfort's attack, the young Raymond's tutors had only to ride with him just outside its barricades to the brow of the ridge. On the other hand, if we follow Oman and assume the camp east of the town and beside the Garonne, we are in difficulties at once. In that case the young nobleman must have been hustled westward out of camp for over a mile, and thus directly across the front of de Montfort's rapid advance. William's text suggests nothing of the sort. Moreover, the idea is improbable in itself; for, if whoever was in charge of the young man had thought the camp already threatened, then he would have been hurried not westward but northward, not across de Montfort's front but away from it, or else he might have been put in a boat on the Garonne. If, on the other hand, his tutor thought the camp in no danger, the boy could have been allowed to see from the top of one of the wagons with which it was barricaded. The whole incident therefore tells in favor of William's correctness in putting the camp west of the town and therefore on the ridge.

Turning now to de Montfort's manoeuvre, Oman makes him go out by the Sales gate and follow the road leading up-stream along the left bank of the Garonne, thus putting the southerners, and especially such of them who had just been or were still attacking the Toulouse

¹ William of Puy-Laurens, *loc. cit.*, 209. Delpech (*op. cit.*, I, 189-190) discusses this passage at some length. See also I, 226-227, 227, n. 1.

gate, off their guard by making them believe that he was fleeing from the town. After they were thus lulled into a false security, Oman makes de Montfort wheel suddenly to the right and attack them, charging across the Louge west of the town.¹

In the first place, such a movement could not possibly have seemed a retreat. Oman's map, with the camp to the eastward and only the





BATTLE OF MURET, SEPT. 11, 1213
2ND PHASE: THE DECISION
 ARAGONESE CAVALRY
 CRUSADING CAVALRY (SQUADRONS 1, 2, & 3)

PLATE IV

immediate tactical situation shown, does indeed make it look like one, but the strategics of the situation demolish the idea because de Montfort's line of retreat lay not south-westerly up the left or western bank of the Garonne, but across that unfordable river and eastward towards his base at Carcassonne. We have seen that he may have had a little garrison in St Gaudens, nearly forty miles up the river,² but even so, such a move would have carried him further and

¹ Oman I, 460 n. 2 qualifies Dieulafoy's version of de Montfort's route as 'impossible.' We shall see in a moment how solid is Dieulafoy's foundation and how slender Oman's.

² Luchaire, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

further away from the centre of his power and would have involved him in the precipitous Pyrenean foothills where he would have been easily destroyed.¹ Accordingly, such a movement, taking place at less than three hundred yards from his nearest opponents, could not have lulled the southerners into security. On the contrary, it would have seemed the beginning of an attack by de Montfort, whose extreme boldness was well known. To feign a retreat, he would have had to convince the foe that he was making for the Garonne bridge leading to the eastward road towards his Fanjeaux-Carcassonne base. In the second place, even had de Montfort intended so foolish a move as a feigned retreat southwest would have been, it is doubtful whether he could have executed it, because the southwest gate as well as the Toulouse gate was probably beset by the southerners. The latter were in great force, and it is reasonable to believe that they would have widely enveloped the weakly defended Toulouse gate salient which they proposed to attack. Indeed, we have already seen that those on the left flank of the attack could see and mock de Montfort on the castle terrace, over three hundred yards east of the Toulouse gate.² Whatever may be its probative value the *Chanson* distinctly says that the southerners attacked 'the gates,'³ and this must mean that the Sales gate was at least approached. Now we know from William of Puy-Laurens that de Montfort did not go out directly against the southerners for fear of exposing his horses to the fire of the Toulousan infantry during his deployment ('. . . ne directe contra exercitum prosilirent, ne imbri iaculorum populi Tolosani exponerent equos suos'). Finally, in the passage which Oman takes to be a mere slip, William says not only that the southern camp was to the westward but also that the crusaders went out by the east gate ('Exierunt per portam quae respicit orientem . . .').⁴

¹ The cliffs and canyons of this foothill country will be vividly remembered by anyone who has seen them.

² Peter de Vaux Cernay, *loc. cit.*, p. 86. Cf. also Plate II.

³ The *Chanson* (*ed. cit.*, l. 3023): 'Entro sus a las portas s'en van esperonar.' Delpech (*op. cit.*, I 213, n. 1) justly remarks that, after l. 3023, which treats of the preliminary deployment, the *Chanson* invariably uses *porta* in the singular when treating of the actual assault which the wide deployment was intended to support.

⁴ William of Puy Laurens (*loc. cit.*, p. 208). The passage fragmentarily quoted in the text, is: 'Inciditque eis concilium ne directe contra exercitum prosilirent, ne imbri iaculorum populi

Considering now the version of de Montfort's manœuvre proposed by Dieulafoy and built upon the strong foundation laid by Delpech and followed by Devoluy and Anglade, we find it probable, consistent, and in agreement with the primary sources.¹ Dieulafoy differs both from Delpech and Oman in that he assumes an outwork surrounding the southern corner of Muret, and further assumes a bridge over the Louge near its mouth where the Pont St Sernin now stands. Thus the passageway already mentioned as leading to the Garonne bridge would, near its southwestern end, enter the outwork through a new gate facing east, through which traffic must pass before entering the Sales gate. At its northeastern end, the passageway would connect with the predecessor of the existing Pont St Sernin, which would be commanded by the high castle donjon. Both conjectures are probable in themselves. The recent building of the Garonne bridge would naturally have brought about the construction of such an outwork, barbican or chatelet, an extremely common element of mediæval fortification. Further, Dieulafoy tells us that thirty years ago the traces of this construction were still visible, and from a man of his calibre such a statement carries conviction.² In turn, the existence of the castle bridge in 1213 accords with the prevailing habit of mediæval engineers to preserve direct communication between a citadel and the open country, so that a besieger who took the lower wards could not use them to hem in completely the defenders of the part still holding out. The same principle is seen at work in the siting of

Tolosani exponerent equos suos, et exierunt per portam quae respicit orientem cum castra essent ab occidente,' etc.

¹ Anglade, *op. cit.*, 42-5. For Devoluy's article, see *Vieo Prouençaço*, no. 33, Sept. 7, 1907, cited. Delpech (*op. cit.*, I, 215-224), as we shall see in a moment when discussing Dieulafoy's account, erred through failing to assume the existence of the outwork surrounding the south or southwest corner of Muret and the Pont St Sernin over the Louge near its mouth. Nevertheless, he saw clearly that a feigned retreat must have seemed directed towards the Garonne bridge. Briefly, his version is that the Crusaders' column turned to the left on passing the Sales gate, left again around the southern corner of the town, and so reached the quai or passage leading toward the Garonne bridge. There he makes them go right about or left about by squads, as a modern soldier would say, and return suddenly to the charge. The conception is imperfect since it fails to appreciate the length of such a column, and it seems unlikely that such a movement would lull any enemy, however careless, into security. Nevertheless, it has some logical basis, which can hardly be said for Oman's version of this phase of the action.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 14-16, also p. 22, n. 5, and pp. 25-26. The traces of the outwork are mentioned on p. 15.

would be a different matter; but apparently there is no such document, and we have seen that its existence explains difficulties otherwise found in the contemporary accounts.

What then did de Montfort actually do? A considerable southern detachment involved itself in the attack on the Toulouse gate or, repulsed, slightly withdrew, disarmed themselves, and set to eating and drinking; for our purpose the difference is not material. The crusading leader quietly assembled his cavalry, which he had divided into three squadrons. The care taken to preserve silence (vouched for by the prose version of the *Chanson*¹), proves that a surprise attack and not a feigned flight was intended, for in the latter case noise would have been desirable in order to attract hostile attention to the false movement. William of Puy-Laurens does not say that they were seen; his language 'ut nescientibus propositum eorum, fugere niterentur,'² seems rather to mean 'to anyone ignorant of their design who had seen them they would have seemed to be fleeing.' Passing through the Sales gate and then the east gate of the outwork, they followed throughout its length the passageway along the bank of the Garonne and under the south wall of Muret. Continuing straight on past the Garonne bridge, they reached and crossed the Louge by the Pont St Sernin and found themselves upon low land defiladed from hostile view by a little slope which was itself commanded by the great height of the donjon. That they crossed the Louge before coming to the charge is directly stated by William of Puy-Laurens, 'They crossed a certain small river and returned into the plain towards the [hostile] army.' ('rivum quemdan transeuntes, in planitiem versus exercitum redierunt'),³ and implied by the other chroniclers, none of whom mention the break in the charge which would necessarily have resulted from the attempt to cross the steep banks of the Louge immediately west of the town. Having then deployed unobserved and in shelter, de Montfort's first squadron suddenly charged the left flank of the unsuspecting southern detachment, which had been at-

¹ Bouquet, *op. cit.*, XIX, 152 (called by Oman 'The Anonymous Chronicle of the Albigensian War'): '... lodit conte de Montfort . . . faict armar totas sas gens sans far degun bruiet,' etc.

² William of Puy-Laurens, *loc. cit.*, p. 208.

³ *Ibid.*

tacking the Toulouse gate. This detachment, completely surprised, was scattered in a few moments. The first crusading squadron, now joined by the second, next charged down upon a second body of southerners, including Pedro himself and his Aragonese cavalry, hastily formed on the plain a few hundred yards to the north. Although outnumbered by their new enemies, the two crusading squadrons charged so fiercely as to plunge deeply into the ill-arrayed Aragonese mass.¹

Regarding this phase of the battle, the younger Raymond told William of Puy-Laurens in a vivid phrase that the sound of the blows struck was like that of a multitude of axmen hewing down a forest.² Pedro was killed by a group of crusaders who had banded themselves together beforehand to do so, but his large military household (*Meinie* or *Maynade*) continued fighting desperately over his corpse until de Montfort decided this the decisive phase of the action by means of a flank charge.

The flank charge brings us to the third and last of the disputed points of the battle. Oman and even the painstaking Delpech maintain that de Montfort, with his third squadron, circled widely to the west, crossing the marsh of Rudelle near the headwaters of the Louge at the foot of the Perramon ridge, and struck the right flank of Pedro's detachment.³ Dieulafoy holds that not the marsh of Rudelle, but the ravine and the brook of Les Pesquies, was the obstacle crossed, that de Montfort's movement was from his right and against the southern left. Again, the question must be decided from the exact language of the chroniclers together with examination of the ground.

For this movement, our chief authority is Peter de Vaux Cernay,

¹ For the disorder of the Aragonese see *Chronicle of Jaime of Aragon* (ed. Aguilo, reprinted by Anglade), p. 18: 'de la part del Rey no saberen rengar la batayla ni anar justats, e ferien cada un rich hom per si, e ferien coutra justa d'armes.' That is, 'on the king's side they knew not how to set the battle in array nor how to combine their efforts, and every noble (i.e. rich man) did as he liked, and they disregarded proper military methods.'

For the depth to which the first two crusading squadrons penetrated the Aragonese, see Peter de Vaux Cernay, *loc. cit.*, p. 87: 'Videns comes noster duas acies suas in medios hostes immensas, et quasi non comparere.'

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 209: . . . 'armorum collisio et sonus ictuum ad locum ubi erat ipse qui hoc dicebat, aere ferebatur, ac si multae secures nemora detruncaret.'

³ Delpech, *op. cit.*, I, 228-230. Oman, I, 463.

de Montfort's chaplain, who saw the battle. He says that his patron 'rushed from or by the left upon the enemy' ('Irruit a sinistra in hostes'),¹ which Oman and Delpech take to mean a movement from his own left upon the enemy's right whereas Dieulafoy² says that 'a sinistra' should be taken of the enemy's left like the phrase 'a tergo.' Philologically, Dieulafoy seems correct; the reader is fully capable of judging whether so familiar a Latin phrase as 'vis a tergo' means that one is pushing backward with one's own buttocks against an opponent or rather that one is operating forwards, with hand, foot, or weapon as the case may be, against the hinder portions of the said opponent! Furthermore this conclusion is strongly reënforced by study of the terrain. Oman's map, seemingly based on ll. 3057 and 3058 of the *Chanson*, makes the third crusading squadron cross marsh near the upper Louge. Unfortunately this involves another error, for the lines in question:

'Tuit s'en van a las tendas per mejas las palutz,
Senheiras desplegadas els penos destendutz.'

('They all went towards the tents through the midst of the marches, banners displayed and pennons floating') refer not to de Montfort and his third squadron, but to the first squadron which de Montfort did not personally accompany, for just previously, in line 3055, the *Chanson* has already told us that all the banners were with the first squadron:

'E todas las senheiras el primer cap anar,'

which Oman himself quotes in this text³ in its proper context, i.e., as referring to the first two squadrons. Then he says that these squadrons crossed the Louge 'at a point where the passage of the marsh was feasible,'⁴ and, further on, that the third squadron was much delayed by 'a difficult piece of the marsh.'⁵ Now there is still marsh at Rudelle and at Les Pesquies. There is none anywhere near the point

¹ Peter de Vaux Cernay, *loc. cit.*, p. 87.

² Oman, I, 463. Delpech, *op. cit.*, I, 228-229, also p. 188. Dieulafoy, *op. cit.*, p. 28, and especially p. 28, n. 6.

³ Oman, I, 461 n. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 461.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 463.

where Oman makes the first two squadrons cross, and the steep banks of the Louge in that neighborhood make it most improbable that there ever was. Nor, as we shall see in a moment, does any chronicler speak of march in connection with de Montfort's flank charge, where both Oman's map and his text emphasize its existence.

Sparing the reader further comment on this sort of thing, let us return to what de Montfort actually did. His first and second squadrons crossed part of Les Pesquies marsh. As to the third squadron, Peter de Vaux Cernay's language fits Les Pesquies ravine better than Rudelle. That chronicler says nothing of mud as an obstacle, as would have been the case at Rudelle, and does say that de Montfort in mounting against opposition the slope of the ditch or ravine (*fossatum*) which confronted him, received so heavy a downward blow that his left stirrup leather broke. Such a mishap does not imply the crossing of a mere shallow drainage channel, as would have been the case at Rudelle, where a deep ditch would have been useless for drainage because of the slight fall of the Louge. It rather implies the mounting of a steep bank of some height so that the rider strains downwards and backwards against his stirrups.¹

The obstacle once crossed, de Montfort unhorsed the leader of its covering detachment by a blow of the fist to the jaw.² At this point, although Oman does not mention the blow, I digress for an instant to note that Peter de Vaux Cernay's account has been attacked as improbable on the ground that the commander of so important a unit as this detachment would have been equipped with a helmet covering the entire face. The fact is, however, that the Great Seals both of Pedro and Raymond of Toulouse reproduced by Anglade both show the older type of helmet furnished with a nose guard but not covering the cheeks or jaw.³

The covering detachment dispersed, and after de Montfort's flank charge had next broken the considerable body which had been under

¹ Peter de Vaux Cernay, *loc. cit.*, p. 87: 'invenit . . . in fossato modicissimam semitam . . . ipsi eum cum gladiis suis tanto nisu . . . pupugerunt quod . . . ruptus est ei staphus sinister.'

² *Ibid.*, p. 87: 'vir . . . nobilis dictum militem cum pugno cecidit subtus mentum, et de equo cadere fecit.'

³ Anglade, *op. cit.*, Frontispiece and p. 20.

Pedro's immediate command, the remainder of the southern cavalry took to flight, ignominiously led by Raymond and pursued by de Montfort, who nevertheless kept his third squadron well in hand in case of a rally. Meanwhile, the horsemen had stirred up such clouds of dust that the Toulousan militia infantry who had, up to this point, remained in their camp, mistakenly believed de Montfort and not their friends to be fleeing. Accordingly, they sallied out and once more attacked the town ('Cives Tolosani . . . in expugnando castro totis viribus laborabant,' says Peter de Vaux Cernay; 'castro' obviously meaning Muret).¹ They were then surprised and massacred by de Montfort and his crusaders returning from pursuit — which final phase of the action has been already discussed in this paper because of its intimate connection with the disputed site of the southern camp.

It would be a mistake to write of Muret at all without at least a word on the vast sequel of that astonishing battle. No second rally of the southern nobles was forthcoming; when Aragon was at last able to act again, her effort was directed, not northward, but south and east against the Mohammedan. Meanwhile de Montfort, although unable with his small resources to hold down the metropolis of Toulouse (before which town he was killed in 1218) nevertheless succeeded in maintaining himself so long and so successfully in Languedoc that his work could not be undone. Even after his death, the southerners failed to expel his weak son Amaury, who in 1224 resigned his claims to the Capetian House of France. In 1229, Count Raymond VII of Toulouse, the same who had been at Muret as a boy, surrendered most of his lands to King Louis VIII, and in 1271, the Crown peaceably took the remainder as heir to Raymond VII's childless daughter Jeanne, who had been married to a prince of the Blood Royal. In Languedoc, the Albigensian heresy had long since been stamped out, and the moral unity of western Europe under the Papacy had been reëstablished to last until Luther's time. Incidentally, the House of France was firmly established in the south and the national unity assured.

¹ Peter de Vaux Cernay, *loc. cit.*, p. 87.

Such are the strange recurrences of human history that the military technique of the Dark and Middle Ages, besides its historic interest, has recently achieved an immediate practical interest as well. As in the Dark Ages, infantry today seems to have lost its offensive power and to fill the vacuum there has appeared a mechanical substitute not altogether unlike the armored horseman, to wit, the tank. The analogy between the two has become commonplace; Liddell Hart perhaps develops it further than any other author in his *Remaking Of Modern Armies*. It is true that he might have done better to emphasize less the mediaeval knight and to have laid more stress upon the armored Byzantine horse-archer, who could act by fire like the tank, but that is by the way. His use of the mediaeval analogy is nevertheless both interesting and useful, and had he not been led astray by Oman — for instance as to the battle of Adrianople¹ — it would have been better still. It is therefore doubly to be desired that the study of the cavalry era in warfare may be placed upon a firmer footing.

¹ Oman, 1, 13-14, Liddell Hart, *The Remaking of Modern Armies* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1928), pp. 38-40, 47, 58.

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INTE DNE SPERA
dar in aeternum; In te pater spes
mibi tamquam ceteris hominibus
dunt; Uel uox prophetae ex personae
id est qui recte confiteor fidem trino
in me; Non confundar in aeternum
dicitur. Non confundetur neque
iustitia libera me. & erip me de foue
quia nisi ad deum iustificemur. per nos
Unde scriptum est; qui se iustifica
& paulus; de quibusdam dicit. su
iustitiam iustitia autem dei non su
tuam; Uox ecclesiae ad xpm; p
gitur; Inclinat xpi. aurem quae
inclinauit dei aurem suam quando
cluit in mundo. & in tantum incli
ra scribere; ad caelum ut eripias
propter me, uel sanctam ecclesiam libera. & de

DODALDUS CLERC ET SCRIBE DE SAINT-MARTIN DE TOURS

PAR A. WILMART, O.S.B.

LE CATALOGUE officiel des manuscrits conservés à Chartres indique brièvement, sous le n° 3, un exemplaire des 'traités de saint Jérôme sur les *Psaumes*', qui provient de l'ancien Chapitre et remonte au IX^e siècle.¹ M. le Chanoine Delaporte mentionne de nouveau ce volume dans son récent catalogue des manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque de Chartres. Je transcris cette notice:²

'Lettres noires ornées de palmettes et d'entrelacs; quelques-unes sont rehaussées de rouge. Les plus intéressantes sont celles des des fol. 59^v (serpent luttant contre un oiseau [Pl. II]) et 194 (oiseau).'

La *Planche* qui vient d'être annoncée³ suffit, fort heureusement, à nous donner une idée exacte de la décoration; et quant à l'écriture, dont elle présente en même temps une douzaine de lignes, reproduites en 'grandeur naturelle,' nous avons là, au moins, un spécimen qui peut servir de point de comparaison.

Le style graphique, soigné, est nettement carolingien et de la première époque. Les seuls détails que le facsimilé mette en évidence sont: le *N* oncial très large, employé une fois dans le passage, concurremment avec la forme minuscule habituelle (*n*); puis, les traits des lettres *r* et *s* (*r*), sensiblement pareils à ceux de l'écriture de Tours, c'est à dire élancés et quelque peu prolongés. Pour le reste, l'aspect général n'est pas — et j'ose dire — n'est pas encore celui de style 'régulier,'⁴ ou réformé, de Tours, dont l'équilibre et la clarté sont les notes caractéristiques, fixé déjà à peu près, autant qu'on puisse voir, durant les premières années du gouvernement de l'abbé Fridugise (807-834), sinon même un peu plus tôt, sous l'influence d'Alcuin (†804). A supposer que nous soyons à Tours — simple hypothèse présentement — le copiste demeure fidèle aux habitudes du style que M. le Professeur Rand appelle le style 'embelli.'⁵ Mais ceci

¹ *Catalogue général des départements*, XI (1890), p. 1, sq.

² *Les manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque de Chartres* (Paris, 1929), p. 2.

³ Cette planche est placée, dans le livre, entre les pages 12 et 13.

⁴ Cf. E. K. Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours* (Cambridge, 1929), p. 49 sq.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45 sq.

(qu'on veuille bien le noter) ne marque pas une date; car les deux styles paraissent avoir coexisté pendant un certain temps, quinze ou vingt années. Je ne veux pas insister davantage, pour le moment, sur le côté paléographique, m'en tenant à l'impression que laisse la photographie publiée par M. Delaporte, après avoir constaté que mes notes personnelles concernant le manuscrit, prises il y a dix ans, ne touchaient guère qu'aux questions d'ordre littéraire, la date du travail étant par ailleurs garantie, comme on le verra plus loin. Mais ce qui suit va préciser la position à souhait.

Le lettrine du fol. 59^v est en effet beaucoup plus remarquable et significative que le texte écrit. Elle illustre, matériellement, le début du *Psaume xxxviii*: 'Dixi: custodiam vias meas . . .'¹ Le grand *D* initial est composé, à gauche, d'une simple bande d'entrelacs dont les extrémités sont garnies de palmettes; à droite, dans la courbe, du motif signalé par M. Delaporte. Cette courbe, élégamment tracée, encadre exactement, dans une nouvelle bordure d'entrelacs, le corps d'un grand rapace, duquel un reptile s'est emparé. Le scribe s'est évidemment amusé et a donné carrière à sa fantaisie, — ce qu'il convient de souligner; cet art est encore vivant et libre, non point stylisé ou mécanique. La présence du reptile n'était en effet nullement nécessaire; pour former la panse du *D*, l'oiseau eût suffi, si l'artiste n'avait pas été, pour ainsi dire, emporté par sa verve. La scène est incontestablement réussie, dans sa brièveté. Le reptile, tête en bas, maintient l'oiseau courbé, serrant d'une part dans sa mâchoire la patte gauche, raidie, de sa victime et, d'autre part, l'étranglant dans une boucle de son propre corps, enroulé d'un bout à l'autre sur lui-même en forme de tresse, de telle façon que la proie se trouve ligottée et paralysée, la patte droite encore libre, mais sans force, prenant appui sur la gorge du bourreau.

Sans hésitation possible de la part de l'observateur, cette petite composition originale est de l'espèce que j'ai eu occasion de décrire naguère,² à la suite du Dr Wilhelm Köhler,¹ d'après plusieurs ou-

¹ Cf. *Ps. Jérôme, P. L., xxvi, 941 A (al. 907 D)*.

² *Revue Benedictine*, janvier 1930, p. 43 sq. Je laisse de côté, provisoirement, le manuscrit 1451 de la Bibliothèque Nationale, puisqu'on aime mieux, maintenant, le tenir pour suspect. Mais pour mon compte, après l'avoir revu, j'estime, en raison de sa lettrine initiale, qu'il doit

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PLATE II
 CHARTRES, MS. 3, Fol. 59^v
 (Photo Delaporte)

vrages certainement tourangeaux, et qu'on est fondé à rapporter, approximativement, au temps d'Alcuin ou au début de l'abbatiate de Fridugise. Mais il faudra dire, je crois, comparaison faite, que la lettrine du manuscrit de Chartres peut passer pour l'une des meilleures du cycle.

Avec un instinct très sûr, le Dr Köhler avait rapproché, en raison des procédés et des thèmes décoratifs très particuliers que j'ai énoncés (entrelacs, palmettes, corps de bêtes isolées ou en lutte, plus ou moins fantastiques), cinq ou six manuscrits notables, entre autres les *Évangiles* dits des Jacobins (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 17227), les *Évangiles* dits de Nevers (Londres, Br. Mus., Harl. 2790) et la célèbre *Bible* du Chapitre de Monza.

A ce groupe, je proposai d'ajouter un exemplaire du *Psautier* hébraïque de saint Jérôme, qui se trouve également au British Museum dans le fonds Harley (n° 2793), et dont l'on n'avait pas encore fait cas; une lettrine, qui a des traits communs avec celle de Chartres, suffisait à démontrer la parenté.

Depuis lors, ont paru successivement le *Survey*, ou statistique détaillée, de M. Rand et l'étude définitive de M. Köhler sur 'l'école de Tours,'² magnifiques ouvrages complémentaires, consacrés le premier plutôt à la paléographie, le second plutôt à la décoration, illustrés l'un et l'autre par un choix de reproductions aussi abondant qu'on le pouvait désirer. Pratiquement, les deux auteurs sont d'accord sur les débuts du *scriptorium* carolingien et ses premières manifestations tout au commencement du IX^e siècle. Pour mon compte, je préférerais étendre un peu la limite au delà du décès d'Alcuin, jusque vers l'année 810. Quoi qu'il en soit, voici la liste, telle que l'établit M. Köhler, des monuments décorés suivant le type défini plus haut; mais j'aime mieux lui donner une forme alphabétique, et j'ajoute un témoin que M. Rand est seul à produire.

appartenir au groupe indiqué. Son style *graphique* ne suffirait pas sans doute à désigner Tours comme lieu d'origine; mais il ne contredit pas non plus l'hypothèse. A cet égard, le manuscrit de Chartres que nous étudions n'est pas dans une situation beaucoup plus favorable; si la souscription faisait défaut, une critique trop prudente l'écarterait donc de même. Il est des cas où un peu de hardiesse convient; en voici un, croisais-je.

¹ *Degering-Festgabe*, p. 172 sq.

² *Die Karolingische Miniaturen. Die Schule von Tours. Die Ornamentik* (Berlin, 1930).

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La série *K* rappelle donc tant les notices¹ que les planches du recueil de M. Köhler; la série *R* comporte également le numéro d'ordre des notices rédigées par M. Rand² et celui des planches qu'il a publiées de son côté, pour faire connaître spécialement l'écriture.

Gand, Univ. 102 (Jérôme, <i>in Esaiam</i>)	<i>K</i> n. 11 (pl. XI)	<i>R</i> n. 24
Leyde, Univ. Voss. 73 (Nonius Marcellus)	<i>K</i> n. 8 (pl. VII)	<i>R</i> n. 26 (pl. XXXVIII-XXXIX)
Londres, B. M. Harl. 2790 (Evangiles de Nevers)	<i>K</i> n. 5 (pl. V-VI)	<i>R</i> n. 27 (pl. XL-XLI)
Londres B. M. Harl 2793 (Psautier hébraïque)	<i>K</i> n. 7 (pl. VII)	<i>R</i> n. 28 (pl. XLII-XLIII)
Londres, B. M. Harl. 2805 (Ancien Testament) ³	<i>K</i> n. 13 (pl. XIII)	<i>R</i> n. 49 (pl. LX)
Monza, Chap. G. I. (Bible)	<i>K</i> n. 10 (pl. VIII-X)	<i>R</i> n. 29
Paris, B. N. Lat. 260 (Evangiles de S. Martial)	<i>K</i> n. 4 (pl. III-VI)	<i>R</i> n. 36 (pl. L-LI)
Paris, B. N. Lat. 4333 B (Règles monastiques)	<i>K</i> n. 3 (pl. III)	<i>R</i> n. 19 (pl. XXXI)
Paris, B. N. Lat. 11514 (Ancien Testament)	<i>K</i> n. 12 (pl. XII)	<i>R</i> n. 57 (pl. LXIX)
Paris, B. N. Lat. 17227 (Evangiles des Jacobins)	<i>K</i> n. 9 (pl. VIII)	<i>R</i> n. 30 (pl. XLIII-XLIV)
Saint-Gall, Stiftsbibl. 75 (Bible)	<i>K</i> n. 1 (pl. I-III)	<i>R</i> n. 33
Troyes, Bibl. Mun. 1742 (De virtut. d'Alcuin, Preces)	<i>K</i> n. 6 (pl. VII)	<i>R</i> n. 38 (pl. LIV)
Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. 518 (Martinellus)		<i>R</i> n. 46 (pl. LVIII)

En examinant, voire rapidement, les planches des deux recueils, on ne saurait manquer d'apercevoir la cohésion du groupe; et si l'on

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 364 sq.

² *Op. cit.*, 1, 102 sq. Les manuscrits rapportés par M. Rand à la période alcuinienne (ou période IV) sont désignés par des chiffres allant de 23 à 69. Il y a, d'ailleurs, des subdivisions: 24-34 (style 'embelli'), 35-38 (style 'embelli' et style 'régulier'), 39-46 (témoins incertains du style 'embelli'), 47-63 (style 'régulier'), 64-69 (témoins 'tardifs' du style 'régulier').

³ Cet ouvrage représente plutôt un style de transition; d'où la juste place qu'il reçoit dans la nomenclature de M. Köhler. Néanmoins, il mérite d'être inclus dans la série, ayant encore certains éléments décoratifs qui sont propres à tout le groupe.

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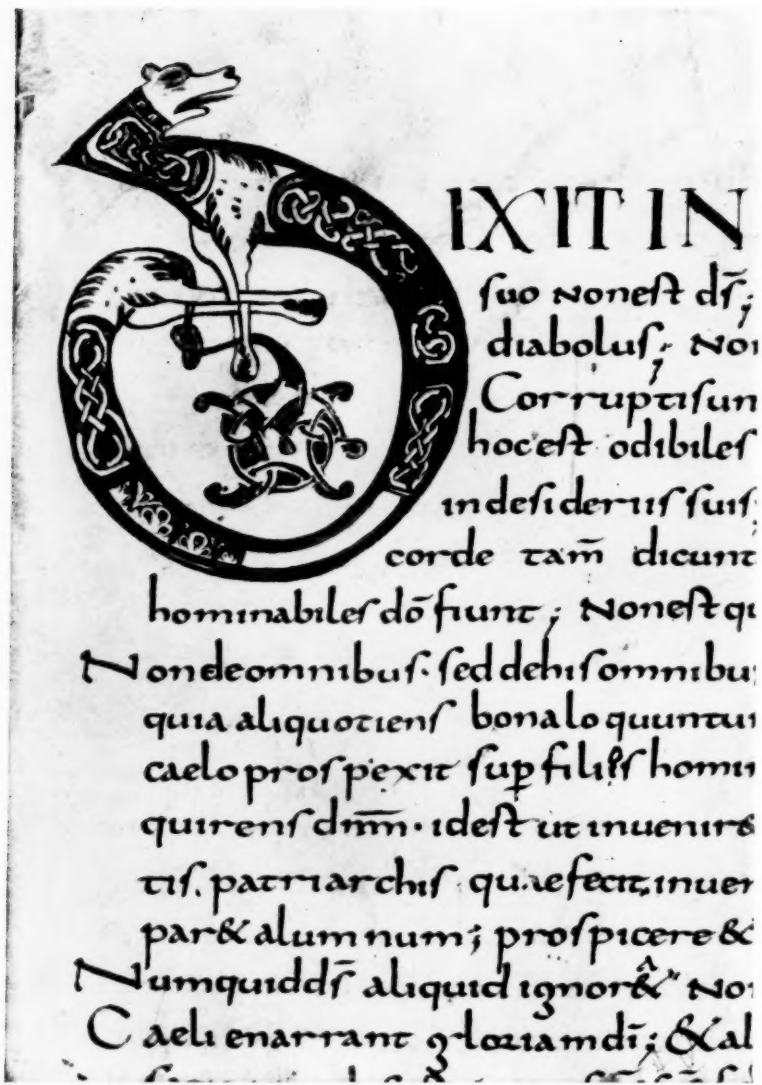


PLATE III
CHARTRES, MS. 3, Fol. 79

jette ensuite les yeux sur la curieuse lettrine dont j'ai fait la description, il apparaîtra non moins clairement que le manuscrit de Chartres doit prendre place dans la liste. La difficulté est ailleurs, moins grave pourtant ici que dans le cas de la majorité des manuscrits tourangeaux. M. Rand l'a loyalement indiquée dans son étude.¹ Ces ouvrages, qu'il s'agit de dater, nous sont parvenus, sauf de très rares exceptions, sans données extrinsèques et, principalement, sans signature. Nous en ignorons les auteurs; par suite, il est malaisé de marquer des dates.

M. Rand suppose que l'absence de la signature, à la fin des manuscrits, s'explique par le chapitre LVII de la *Règle* de Saint Benoît relatif aux *artifices* du monastère, et qu'on eût enfreint la *Règle* en se désignant soi-même à la postérité. Cette explication me semble cherchée de trop loin, quoiqu'elle puisse contenir une âme de vérité. Les moines étaient, sans doute, élevés dans un certain esprit d'humilité, de pauvreté et d'obéissance, qui les devait retenir de se mettre en scène et de revendiquer expressément le propriété de leurs travaux. Mais tel n'est pas le sens coutumier des souscriptions littéraires. Diverses nous sont parvenus, apposées par des moines, à diverses époques; le plus souvent, elles expriment une action de grâces ou formulent une demande de prières. En tout cas, le chapitre cité de la *Règle* bénédictine ne vise pas directement la copie des manuscrits; et enfin, les *Fratres de Turonis* paraissent avoir été une communauté de clercs, plutôt que de moines.

Ceci dit en passant, pour répondre à la question ouverte par M. Rand, — c'est un fait que nous avons fort peu de signatures proprement dites sur les ouvrages provenant de Tours. M. Rand en a relevé quatre, plus ou moins explicites. Il se trouve, précisément, que trois de ces signatures sont fournies par des manuscrits du groupe circonscrit tout à l'heure.² *Adalbaldu*, *Amalricus*, et *Gedeon* sont les copistes respectifs des *Evangiles* des Jacobins, de la *Bible* de Monza, et des *Evangiles* de Nevers.

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 20, sq.; et cf. p. 243, pour les noms des scribes.

² La quatrième est celle d'*Audradus*, sur le manuscrit de Chartres n° 24 (dans le *Survey*, n° 74) M. Köhler veut croire qu'*Audrade* a signé en qualité de propriétaire. C'est un pis-aller que personne autre, j'aime à croire, n'admettra. A ce compte, pourquoi Gédéon n'aurait-il pas signé aussi comme propriétaire? — A propos d'*Audrade*, l'on n'a pas saisi exactement la

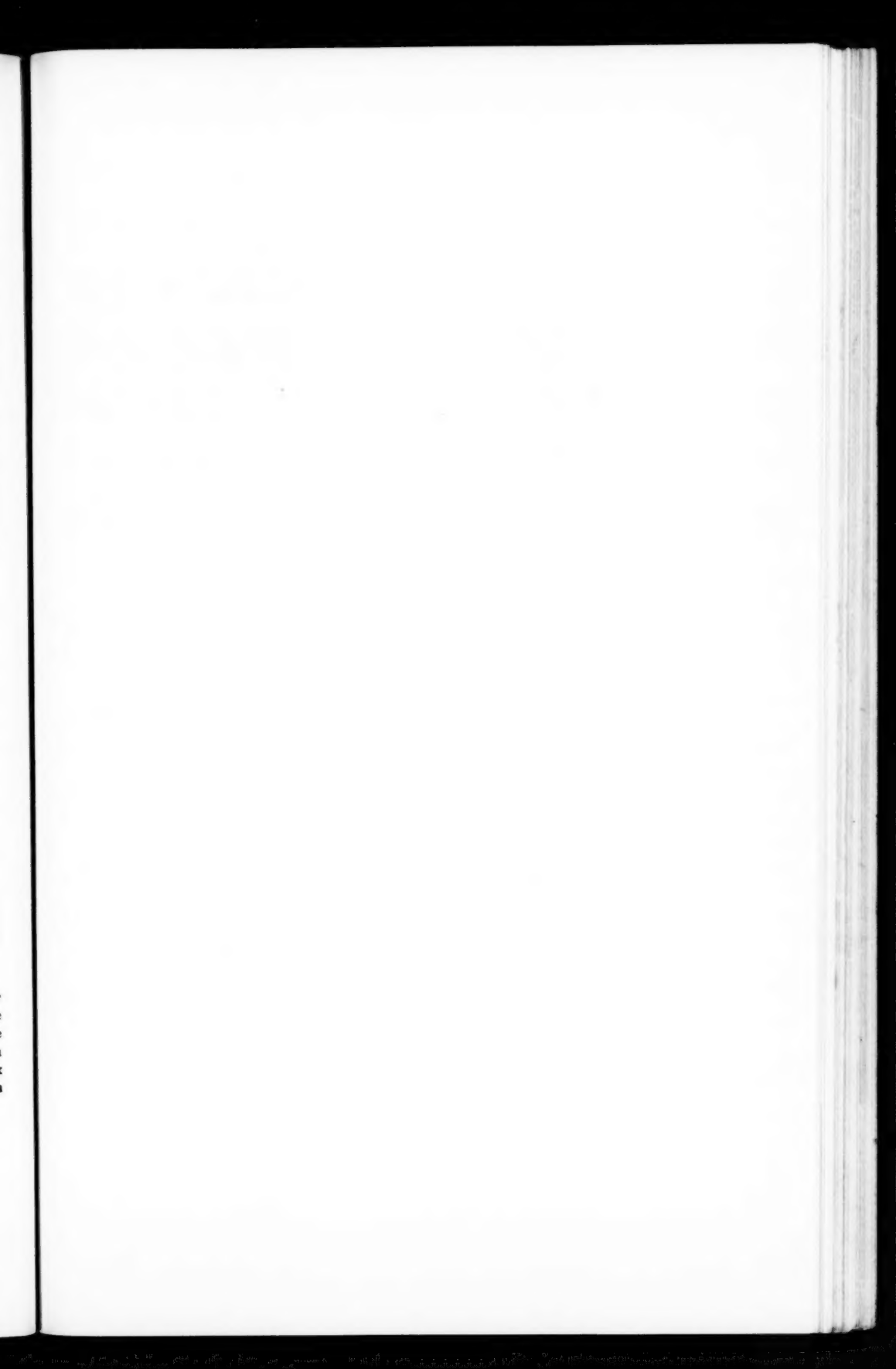
La connaissance de ces noms est fort importante, parce que, grâce au rôle des 'frères de Tours' conservé parmi es *Confraternitates* de Saint-Gall, la discussion des dates devient possible. Non pas qu'on prétende arriver à une précision absolue; les rencontres de cette sorte sont rares. Du moins est-on fondé, après examen, à tracer certaines limites vraisemblables.

Le rôle, qui comprend 219 noms, a été rédigé au temps de l'abbé Fridugise. M. Rand estime que cette rédaction peut être attribué à l'année 820 environ, et, de plus, qu'elle correspond à l'ordre de préséance gardé dans la communauté. Nous voudrions que les deux points fussent assurés; mais les faits ne s'accordent pas très bien avec cette double position. A mon avis, ou bien les parties du rôle authentique ont été dissociées, puis interverties, à Saint-Gall, ou bien le rôle tel quel, censé normal, correspond au début du régime de Fridugise (807-810).

Je ne veux pas m'occuper des copistes, désormais célèbres, du Tite-Live, dont les noms, sauvés par hasard, sont répartis entre les n^{os} 42 et 77 du rôle. C'est assez d'examiner la situation des scribes-dessinateurs du groupe qu'on peut appeler décoratif. On sait que le rôle mentionne deux *Adalbaldus* (n^{os} 58 et 152) et deux *Amalricus* (n^{os} 172 et 212). Il faudrait donc faire un choix. En revanche, la place de Gédéon (n^o 190) est incontestée. Mais voici maintenant notre chance à propos du nouveau manuscrit de Chartres. Nous connaissons aussi son copiste, et le numéro d'ordre de celui-ci se présente dans les mêmes parages, tout juste comme il convenait.

Le volume devint la propriété de l'Eglise de Chartres, passé le milieu du ix^e siècle. On en a pour garant des formules de donation, répétées uniformément (fol. 11^v, 27^v, 51^v, 67^v, 78^v, 93^v): 'Optulit hunc librum Richulfus per manus Gisleberti episcopi Sanctae Mariae Carnotensis ecclesiae.'

nuance du raisonnement que j'ai esquissé dans *SPECULUM* I (1926), p. 277 sq. [prière de tenir compte des corrections indiquées dans le n^o d'Octobre.] J'ai voulu dire simplement qu'Audrade avait dû apprendre tout de suite et, semble-t-il, sans effort le style 'régulier.' Il y a un autre point à considérer. A mesure qu'on étudie les manuscrits de Tours copiés à cette époque, l'on vient à penser que presque toute la communauté de Saint-Martin s'employait aux travaux d'écriture, et que les membres n'eurent aucune difficulté à acquérir une véritable maîtrise en cet art.



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 subplantator in
 tymphanum. p
 Hymnum decor
 torum mundi;
 nis die sollempni
 cha. pentecosten.
 Licet omnitemp
 in resurrectione. in remissione.
 resurgimus in xpo. cum remissio
 nis nostri. innouata fuerit post
 est. & iudicium dōi iacob; ipsius en
 ut gratia saluemur & non ex nobis
 pro nobis uindictus est; posuit illud

Un archevêque de Rouen porta ce nom de Riculfe entre les années 872 et 876;¹ on ne saurait prétendre qu'il soit en cause. Mais Gilbert, évêque de Chartres, est un personnage historique; sa présence est attestée à divers conciles, de 859 à 878.² Ce qu'il importe beaucoup plus de relever, c'est cette souscription qui fait suite à l'*explicit* du texte (fol. 236), tout l'ouvrage étant en effet d'une seule main: 'Qui legis ora pro scriptore Dodaldo clerico si dominum habeas protectorem amen.'

Or, *Dodaldus* est bien l'un des *Fratres de Turonis* énumérés sur la liste sangallienne, et il y porte le n° 161. Nous pouvons donc reprendre maintenant la succession la plus probable des écrivains qui nous intéressent:

- n° 152: Adalbaldus: *Evangiles* des Jacobins;
- n° 161: Dodaldus: *Ps.-Jérôme* sur les *Psaumes*;
- n° 175: Amalricus: *Bible* de Monza;
- n° 190: Gedeon: *Evangiles* de Nevers.

Etant donné que le dernier nom du rôle porte le n° 219, il semble désormais difficile d'admettre que ces quatre copistes appartiennent à la portion la plus jeune de la communauté vers 820. Dès lors, suivant la solution que j'ai déjà énoncée, cette partie de la liste a pu être déplacée; sinon, la liste entière doit remonter à l'année 807 environ, nos copistes, selon la plus grande vraisemblance, ayant produit vers cette date, ou même un peu plus tôt, les manuscrits désignés.

Une fois établi que le *Ps.-Jérôme* de Chartres,—c'est à dire, suivant son titre traditionnel:³ *Tractatus psalmorum sancti Hieronimi praebiteri numero cl*,—provient de Tours, il y a peut-être lieu de rappeler un détail littéraire assez suggestif. Je me suis convaincu, il y a déjà longtemps, que ce commentaire renfermait des restes, assez étendus, du propre commentaire de Grégoire de Tours sur les *Psaumes*, par ailleurs perdu presque entièrement. Nous possédons d'autres manuscrits du même apocryphe qui datent du IX^e siècle. Il se pourrait, néanmoins, que l'ouvrage de *Dodaldus*, représentant la tradition tourangelle, méritât plus de considération que les autres exemplaires.

¹ Cf. L. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, II, (Paris, 1910), p. 211.

² *Ibid.*, p. 430.

³ Conservé par l'*explicit* qui précède la souscription (fol. 236).

* * *

Après avoir écrit ces pages, j'ai eu l'heureuse fortune de pouvoir étudier à loisir le manuscrit de Chartres.¹ Je rangerai sous quatre chefs ce qu'il me semble utile de faire remarquer, laissant à M. le Prof. E. K. Rand le soin de compléter cette brève notice autant qu'il jugera bon.

Composition matérielle. — L'ouvrage est d'un très grand format (380 x 280); écrit à longues lignes, il en présente 37 constamment par page. Il se compose de 30 cahiers. Le premier est mutilé; il était déjà tel au XVII^e siècle, quand le Chapitre fit relier le volume de nouveau² et qu'on inscrivit en haut du premier feuillet actuel:³ *Manuscriptum octavi Saeculi. N° 12*. Mais il est aisé de déterminer les éléments disparus; le cahier doit être reconstitué de la façon suivante:

x x 1 x | x 2 3 4

Sa signature n'est plus visible. Mais on a toute la succession des autres, exception faite du dernier cahier, et l'on est ainsi certain que l'ouvrage est intact pour l'ensemble; car aucun autre feuillet ne manque à l'appel. Les cahiers 2 à 23 sont marqués d'une lettre majuscule au milieu de la marge inférieure de leur dernière page, soit la série B-z.⁴ L'alphabet épuisé, les derniers cahiers (24-30) ont été dénombrés: q I-[q VII]; mais la partie inférieure du feuillet final (fol. 236) a été coupée, si bien que la marque attendue (q VII) fait défaut.⁵

Le réglage des cahiers a été accompli de la manière la plus simple, si je ne me trompe. Dodaldus paraît avoir conduit son poinçon sur quatre feuillets ensemble,⁶ puis avoir replié ceux-ci indifféremment,

¹ J'en dois rendre grâce surtout à M. le Chanoine Delaporte, qui m'a épargné de longues formalités.

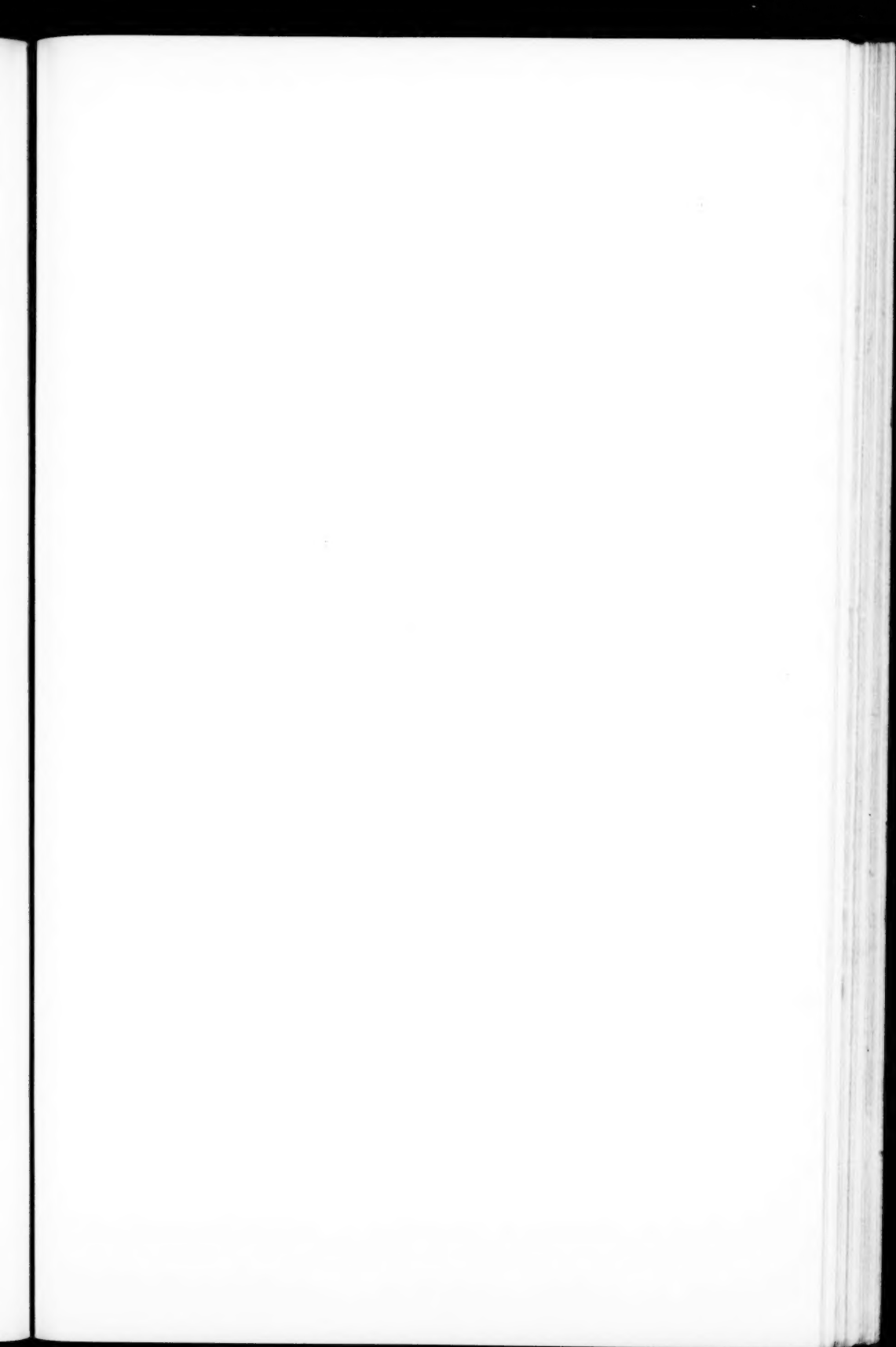
² C'est une simple reliure couverte de parchemin, et portant sur les plats et au dos, plusieurs fois reproduite, l'image de la Sainte Tunique.

³ Plus tard, le manuscrit reçut le n° 20, marqué sur le plat antérieur. Au dos, on voit encore une autre cote: 14.

⁴ Compris la lettre K. Les lettres sont inscrites à l'encre noire, sauf la lettre H (cahier 8) notée en rouge. La lettre M a été grattée, mais on en aperçoit la trace.

⁵ Il est possible qu'elle n'ait jamais été exprimée; le texte écrit finit au *recto*; le *verso* avait été laissé en blanc et suffisait à distinguer le cahier; des mains postérieures l'ont couvert d'essais de plume et d'additions qui n'offrent aucun intérêt.

⁶ Je n'ose rien affirmer; il faudrait faire l'expérience soi-même, sur le même parchemin, avec un poinçon affilé. Il est possible que deux feuillets seulement aient été réglés en même temps. S'il en fut ainsi, le scribe, après avoir préparé deux groupes de feuillets, a pris soin de placer à l'extérieur du cahier les deux feuillets pénétrés par le poinçon, à l'intérieur les deux feuillets



prior uersus sex pedibus conf
finiatur;

BEATI IN
lustitiae. in sa
maculati; Con
beatus immori
dabilis uel glo
na merentur
num descendi
sinemina pe
iohannes dixit
bemus. ipsi nos si
& propheta dicit; qui ingredi
sinemacula hoc est sinemorta
facit inter macula. & macu
sumus. uel in maior. & incidere
in legedni; In uia in xpo. ut
ambulant in legedni. hoc est
id est perseuerant. Quia in

soit dans un sens soit dans l'autre, de telle façon que l'on observe, selon le cas, les deux figures suivantes:

< < < < | > > >
> > > > | < < < <

Contenu littéraire. — J'ai relevé déjà l'*explicit* qui définit le commentaire. Le texte est bien, d'un bout à l'autre, celui du *Pseudo-Jérôme* sur les *Psaumes*; une nouvelle édition est souhaitable, comme j'ai pu m'en rendre compte par maints détails.

Les portions absentes, par suite des lacunes du premier cahier, sont:

1. *Ps.* I-*Ps.* II, v. 5, jusqu'aux mots: '[in] discipulum. Iram autem patientibus videri . . .' (fol. 1)¹

2. *Ps.* IV (aussitôt après le titre)²-*Ps.* v, 11, jusqu'aux mots: 'a cogitationibus suis et impietates impietatibus . . .' (fol. 2)³

Paléographie. — L'écriture, assez épaisse, médiocrement élégante,⁴ mais claire et large, est remarquablement égale, depuis le commencement jusqu'à la fin.⁵ Dodaldus devait être un copiste patient et fidèle. De notre point de vue, l'aspect général est un peu déconcertant. Je suis obligé de redire, avec plus de force, ma première impression: si l'on n'avait le double témoignage de la décoration et de la souscription, l'on ne s'orienterait que très vaguement vers Tours; peut-être même hésiterait-on beaucoup à donner ce terme comme possible. Ceci doit nous rendre prudents pour d'autres cas.⁶ L'absence d'archaïsmes n'est pas moins notable, au début du IX^e siècle et dans le milieu de Tours, tel que nous le connaissons; c'est une autre invitation à être circonspect en matière de paléographie. D'après nos cri-

touchés superficiellement. L'important est de constater qu'il a fait le pli dans un sens ou dans l'autre, sans se soucier de la différence du résultat. On a donc les deux dispositions que j'indique: convexe+concave, concave+convexe.

¹ *P. L.* xxvi, 826 A 11.

² . . . laus Christi: *ibid.*, 828 B 4.

³ *Ibid.*, 332 A 12.

⁴ Par rapport, du moins, au style 'régulier' de Tours, et si l'on prend l'ensemble du manuscrit. L'œuvre était longue; le copiste, d'ordinaire, n'a pas 'figolé' son travail. Il y a pourtant quelques pages d'une très belle calligraphie, vraisemblablement exécutées lors d'une reprise, avant que la main n'ait repris sa routine; je citerai par exemple fol. 55-56, assez proches du style 'régulier.'

⁵ J'aurais voulu reproduire la souscription, qui donne le nom de Dodaldus; mais, tracée en rouge, elle a pâli et n'apparaît pas assez nettement.

⁶ Par exemple, pour celui du manuscrit 1461 de la Bibliothèque Nationale; voir ci-dessus.

tères actuels, voici une transcription que, de moi-même, et tout examiné, j'aurais proposé de dater vers 840-850. Il doit donc être bien entendu que nos dates les plus étudiées ne sont fréquemment qu'approximatives et provisoires, sujettes à revision, lorsque le cas n'est pas très net et plus ou moins déterminé par ailleurs.

Le copiste emploie exclusivement l'*a* minuscule tiré de l'alphabet oncial — sauf, très rarement, dans le groupe à ligature *ra* (alors *a* prend la forme semionciale). En revanche, il use très fréquemment du *N* oncial. Les seuls archaïsmes qu'on ait à noter, et qui, de fait, ne se présentent pas souvent, sont les groupes liés dont *r* est le premier élément: *ra*, *re*.¹ Pour le reste, Dodaldus lie *rt*, *st*, &, *li*, *ti*, mais presque jamais *ct*.² Le signe de l'interrogation paraît bien avoir été fait déjà de première main.³ Malheureusement, quant à la ponctuation, tout le texte fut révisé au XI^e siècle. Le même réviseur a corrigé en même temps beaucoup d'autres détails; ce qui rend l'observation assez délicate. Tel est surtout le cas du symbole syllabique de *tur*. Après avoir étudié tout le manuscrit, il n'y a pour moi aucun doute que Dodaldus a écrit sans cesse *t̄*. Les faits sont trop nombreux, et certains trop nets,⁴ pour qu'on puisse admettre l'intervention d'un réviseur qui eût complété l'abréviation faite au moyen de l'apostrophe *t̄*.

Il est donc fort important de constater qu'un ouvrage du commencement du IX^e siècle à Tours, exécuté par un scribe exercé, présente déjà l'abréviation *t̄*, et elle seule.⁵

Aussi bien, Dodaldus écrit, d'autre part: *eī*, *mañ*, *psalm̄*, *sum̄*.⁶

¹ J'ai noté deux fois l'*i* souscrit, en fin de ligne: *meminimus* (fol. 202).

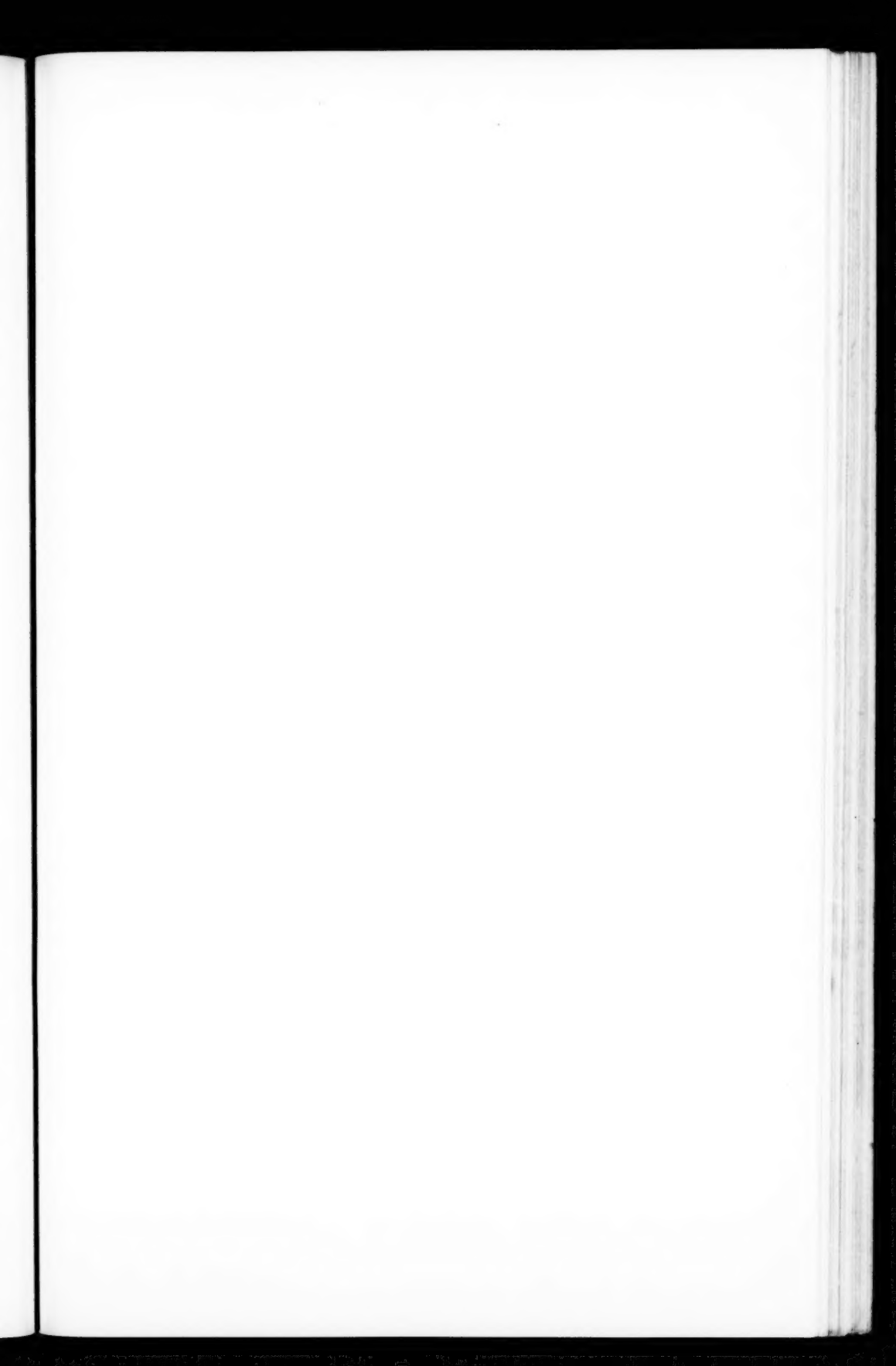
² Le réviseur de XI^e siècle a très souvent ajouté le trait de liaison audessus de ce groupe.

³ Par exemple, fol. 4, 31^v, 50^r, 191^v.

⁴ J'ai relevé, un peu au hasard et sans chercher du tout à être complet: *haben̄* (fol. 1), *rapiā* (fol. 17), *dicī* (fol. 52, 71^v, 122, 130, 210^v, 231^v), *largiā* (fol. 54), *intellegun̄* (fol. 54^v), *cognoscē* (fol. 54^v), *audī* (fol. 72^v), *damnan̄* (fol. 86), *loquī* (fol. 87, 141), *reficieban̄* (fol. 103), *corregī* (fol. 155), *vendī* (fol. 166), *igī* (fol. 223^v). Et, néanmoins, il faut observer que Dodaldus use assez peu des abréviations, et comme avec méfiance; en quoi il était bien dans l'esprit de l'école de Tours, qui finira, dans le style 'régulier,' à n'abrégier que les *Sacra*, avec *-bus* (*b;*) et *que* (*q;*), suivant la tradition des anciens manuscrits onciaux.

⁵ Assez souvent, Dodaldus a employé la forme active des verbes: *laetat*, *depraecant*, *confitebat*, *compungit*, *meret*, *ortat*, *operat*, *dicit*, *habet* (fol. 16, 19^v, 30^v, 43^v, 45, 79, 131^v); le réviseur a rétabli régulièrement la forme passive ou déponente, au moyen d'un signe, parfois mal fait: *v*. Au premier abord, on pourrait croire que Dodaldus a marqué l'apostrophe, et que le réviseur a augmenté celle-ci d'un trait; mais il n'en est pas ainsi.

⁶ On trouve même une fois, dans un titre oncial: *dom'* (fol. 183^v).



quisunt isti XL: & duo pueri ab
salem: XL: & duo anni sunt; Du
itaque illis locum paenitentiae
suam. cum ad Bethel ascenderet
ascende calue. Egressi sunt duo

BENEDICTION
De aduentu dicitur saluator
Postea dixerunt; Benedixit
de aduentu saluatori
trus fuerat inquit.
Dne terram tuam
consecutus; Bene
& attulerit spinas.
ta est; Auertisti ca
crediderunt; Auertu
peccatis est. captus tenetur; Ren
opera eorum. sed propter misero
& operuisti omnia peccata eorum;
psalmus est sicut dixit misero
timentes eum salutare ipsius u

Les autres abréviations employées dans le manuscrit de Chartres — avec beaucoup de discrétion, en général — sont les suivantes :

1. autē	p̄ (= prae)
ē (= est), idē, eē, ēēnt	p̄ (= pro; rare)
m̄t (= meus, fol. 38)	p̄p̄r (= propter)
N̄, n̄, nō (= non)	q; (= que)
n̄rī, n̄r̄m (exceptionnellement n̄t (fol. 92 ^v , 214 ^v , 226 ^v).	q̄d (= quod)
om̄f, om̄a; om̄p̄f, et om̄n̄p̄f	qn̄m (= quoniam, très fréquent), qm̄ (exceptionnel, fol. 34 ^v)
p̄ (= per; rare)	sic̄ (= sicut; exceptionnel, fol. 202)
p̄ (= post; exceptionnel, fol. 235 ^v)	ī (= sunt)
2. -en: lum̄	-it: dīc, dūc, dīx
-er: qualīt	-unt: noluēr (fol. 1) exposuēr (fol. 16)
-is: nob̄, vob̄	-us: montib̄ ⁹

Au sujet des *Sacra*, il n'y a presque rien à signaler.²

Décoration. — Le texte de la copie est éclairé par les titres des psaumes notés en onciales rouges, mais surtout par les initiales. Chaque psaume, en principe, comporte une initiale développée. Il n'est pas rare que Dodaldus se soit contenté d'un simple tracé rapide, en particulier vers la fin de son travail.³ Mais, plus souvent, il a

¹ Voir ci-dessus les autres formes de *-us*.

² J'ai noté outre les *Sacra* usuels: aplf, ecclf (corrigé *ecclesia* par le réviseur) fr̄f, irl, fclm, xplane. Iesus est écrit ihf.

³ Je puis donner un tableau complet de ces initiales ébauchées. (Les chiffres romains désignent les psaumes, les chiffres arabes renvoient aux feuillets).

A — cxviii (195, 203)

B — xxxiii (47^v), cxxvii (207)

C — ix (6), xv (15), cvi (170^v), cxviii (202), cxxxv (215), cxlix (234^v)

D — vi (2^v), vii (3^v), lix (88: D+S), lxix (104: D+S)

E — xvi (16^v), lviii (86^v), lxiii (91^v), cxxxii (209^v)

I — xlii (65), lxv (93^v), lxx (104), lxxx (122), lxxxv (134), cxiii (186), cxviii (200, 201^v), cxxv (206)

L — cxii (185^v), cxvi (192), cxviii (195^v), cxx (203^v), cxxi (204), cxxxiv (214), cxlvi (228), cxlvii (230)

M — cxviii (196^v), cxxxii (208^v), cxxxviii (217^v)

N — xci (145^v), cxxiii (205)

P — vii (3^v), cxviii (197, 202^v), cxliii (222)

Q — xli (63^v), xc (143^v), cxxiv (205)

R — cxviii (194^v)

S — xi (10)

V — cxviii (196)

composé des lettrines proprement dites, plus ou moins parfaites et complexes.

Outre le sujet du fol. 59^v, on a quatre compositions qui valent d'être étudiées. Leur parenté avec le groupe décoratif mis en valeur par le Dr W. Köhler est tout à fait évidente. Je me borne à les signaler, puisque, grâce à MM. Delaporte et Rand, qui ont assumé les frais, on va les trouver reproduites.

Fol. 40^v (*Ps.* xxx), grand *I* rehaussé de rouge: le haut est orné, à gauche, d'une tête de chien tenant une palmette; de plus, inscrit dans la partie supérieure, on aperçoit une sorte de grand oiseau fantastique (autruche?), dont les pattes sont enroulées dans une longue queue; le rapprochement avec les figures analogues de la Bible de Monza est frappant.¹

Fol. 79 (*Ps.* lII), grand *D* de forme onciale: le trait supérieur se compose de l'avant-train d'un chien; l'extrémité de la courbe intérieure offre une tête de canard, qui enserre les deux jambes du chien; le tout est encore rehaussé de rouge.

Fol. 123 (*Ps.* lxxx), grand *E(x)* noir à l'intérieur duquel deux têtes d'animal sont affrontées, dévorant des bandes d'entrelacs.

Fol. 194 (*Ps.* cxvIII), grand *B*, semblable à celui du *Psautier* hébraïque de Londres; dans la boucle supérieure, simple palmette; dans la boucle inférieure, un rapace qui avale une palmette.

Au fol. 160^v (*Ps.* ci), il y a encore un grand *D* développé, où apparaissent des têtes de chien; mais il n'y a pas de scène, à proprement parler; seulement, avec ce motif, un assemblage de palmettes, d'entrelacs et de spirales brisées.

Dans les autres lettrines, l'artiste se contente, en effet, de quelques motifs, isolés ou associés diversement: l'entrelacs ou chaîne de nœuds, les palmettes, le trait en zigzag (ou dentelé). Ces motifs stylisés sont les plus fréquents; mais il y en a trois autres qui reviennent parfois: la tresse ou torsade, les marteaux et les spirales brisées.

Quelquefois, assez rarement, Dodaldus a rehaussé de rouge son travail.²

¹ La tête de chien revient encore comme motif dans un très beau *D* de fol. 160^v; voir aussi la courbe supérieure du grand *B* (fol. 146) que nous reproduisons pour donner quelque idée des lettrines ordinaires.

² Je noterai d'un astérisque les lettres ainsi traitées (*).

.
.
.
s
.
t
a
.
n
.
.

uigna caecunt. & ignem
inimolant; Hoc totum q
berenos cessare. & iam ir
ad dñm pertinent; Pr
operamur mundo. & op
in sabbato quando a mun

BONVM
prallerenominu
re. & postea co
ri bonum est
crimis delep
fiteri dño. No
narepoteft; & pñ
mane misericordiam tu
intellegite quod dicitur
& ueritatem tuam per
runtur; Bonum est a
ricordiam tuam; Sic

Je vais donner, suivant l'ordre de l'alphabet, la liste complète de ces letrines, avec leurs références. On verra que la lettre *D* est, de beaucoup, l'image la plus répandue, celle qui a excité l'ingéniosité de Dodaldus.

A — XXIV (321*), XXVII (36^v), XXVIII (37^{v*}), XLVIII (72^v), LXXVII (114^v), CXIX (203), CXXII (204^v)

B — XXXI (43^v), XL (62^v), LXXXIV (132), XCI (146), CII (162), CIII (163), CXI (183^v), CXVIII (194), CXLVII (222)

C — XVIII (23^v), LXXIV (111^v), XCV (152), XCVII (156), CIV (165), CV (167^v), CX (183^v), CXV (190), CXVII (192^v), CXXXVII (217)

D — III (1^v), VIII (5), XIII (11^v), XIV (13), XVII (18^v), XX (25^v), XXI (27), XXII (29^v), XXIII (30^{v*}), XXVI (34^{v*}), XXXV (53), XXXVII (57^v), XXXVIII (59^v), LII (79^v), LXXXVII (137^v), LXXXIX (141), XCII (148^v), XCVI (154^v), XCVIII (157^v), CI (160^{v*}), CIX (183^v), CXIV (188), CXXX (208), CXL (218^v), CXLII (221)

D avec un *S* intérieur (= *deus*) — XLIII (65), XLV (69^v), XLIX (74), LIII (79^v), LXII (91), LXVI (95), LXXI (105^v), LXXVIII (120), LXXXI (125), LXXXII (127), XCIII (149), CVIII (176)

E — XIX (25), XXIX (39), XXXII (45), XXXIX (60^v), XLIV (67^v), LIV (80^v), LX (89), LXVII (97^v), LXXX (123), CXXXIX (218), CXLIV (225)

F — LXXXVI (134^v)

I — X (9), XXV (33^{v*}), XXX (40^{v*}), XXXIV (50)

M — XLVII (71^v: *M+A*), L (75^v), LV (82^v), LVI (84^{*}), LXXXVIII (138^v), C (159^v)

N — LXI (90), LXXV (109^v), CXXVI (206^v)

O — XLVI (70^v)

P — CVI (173^{*})

Q — LI (77^v), LXXII (106^v), LXXIX (121), LXXXVIII (129)

S — LVII (85^{*}), LXVIII (101^v), CXXXVI (216)

T — XV (14^v), LXIV (92^v)

U — XII (11), LXXIII (108), LXXVI (111^v), XCIV (151^v: *U+E*), CXLI (220^v)

Au total, avec cette centaine de figures, l'on a le moyen de se représenter assez exactement les conceptions artistiques d'un scribe de Saint-Martin de Tours vers le début du IX^e siècle.

* * *

Ces pages étaient déjà envoyées à l'impression, quand le dernier fascicule de *The New Palaeographical Society* nous vint entre les mains (*Series II, parts XII, XIII, 1930*). La planche 189 reproduit, dans la grandeur de l'original, le fol. 79^r, qui donne le début du *Psautier* LII, et le titre du fol. 78^v en lettres onciales. On a donc là une

image exacte, et d'ailleurs fort belle, du manuscrit de Chartres. Les éditeurs, n'ayant pas aperçu la portée de la souscription qui livre le nom du copiste, ont attribué l'ouvrage à la seconde moitié du ix^e siècle, suivant la mention de l'évêque de Chartres, Gilbert. Ce jugement nous semble intéressant à relever; il montre, d'une part, une fois de plus, que la paléographie est encore une science assez incertaine, mais, d'autre part, sans doute, que l'écriture du manuscrit en question n'en impose pas, même à l'examen, par son antiquité. Le nom du copiste à part, c'est l'illustration qui aurait dû garantir de l'erreur. On ne s'attachera donc jamais avec trop de soin à l'étude du style décoratif, quand celui-ci fournit matière à l'observation. A toute époque, le traitement des lettres initiales devrait permettre de contrôler et, au besoin, de rectifier l'appréciation, forcément un peu subjective, des éléments graphiques. Ceci prouve la nécessité de travaux comme ceux du Professeur Rand et du Dr Köhler sur l'école de Tours.

PALAZZO S. CALISTO,

TRASTEVERE, ROMA (14)

A SUPPLEMENT ON DODALDUS

DOM WILMART, in his article on the manuscript of Dodaldus (*Chartres 3*), presents with his customary cogency new data for determining the history of the script of St Martin's of Tours under the régime of Alcuin and his immediate successors. When, about the beginning of the past year, the recent volume on the illuminated manuscripts of Chartres¹ reached me, I was attracted by the facsimile of *MS. 3*, which seemed altogether in the manner of the group of Alcuinian books first treated by Köhler.² On noting that the scribe's name was Dodaldus — information that had long been accessible in the *Catalogues des Départements*³ — I turned to the *Libri Confraternitatum* of St Gall and naturally was pleased to find Dodaldus's name in the list of the brethren of St Martin's, being No. 190 in the list. A visit to Chartres made in the third week of last July allowed me to verify my impressions by as careful a study of the book as my time allowed. I wondered who would get ahead of me in calling attention to this find —

Who but must weep if such a man there be?
Who would not smile if Dom Wilmart were he?

I have little to add from my notes to the admirable account of *Chartres 3* given by my friend. I will present these first, and then turn to certain general issues suggested by Dom Wilmart's article with regard to the St Gall lists of the monks of St Martin's and to the chronological order of the books in Köhler's group.⁴

Chartres 3 is in some ways a peculiar book. Dom Wilmart admits that a first glance at its script would suggest a date of about 840–850 and a scriptorium by no means certainly that of St Martin's of Tours. It is apparently the presence of the name Dodaldus and the results of Köhler's investigations that for Dom Wilmart suffice to settle the case. From the details that follow some further bits of evidence may be gleaned.

Signatures. The practice of using letters of the alphabet for signatures is not that of the School of Tours after the 'Irish Period.' To the few exceptions noted,⁵ the book of Chartres — if done at Tours — must now be added. The lettering is clearly contemporary. The red letter *H*⁶ is by the same hand that added one of the red uncial headings on the same page (fol.

¹ Ives Delaporte, *Les Manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque de Chartres*, (11) Chartres, 1929, p. 2, pl. II.

² Above, p. 575, n. 1.

³ Vol. XI (1893), p. 1.

⁴ I will employ for this group the term used in *Survey* (see above, p. 573) p. 45, i.e., Embellished Merovingian (E.M.).

⁵ *Survey*, p. 20.

⁶ See above, p. 580.

60^v). The majuscules employed for these signatures have the mixed and fanciful character appropriate for a book in the E.M. style.¹ After the scribe has exhausted the alphabet, he turns to the system generally practised at Tours — \bar{Q} followed by the numeral. (I-VI [VII]). The numeral I is decorated with a series of short lines above, below, and on either side, in the manner found in the earliest books of Tours but only rarely later.² The evidence of the signatures is therefore conflicting. It should be borne in mind that exceptions to the rule in a case like the present may have been determined by the usage observed by the scribe in the manuscript that he was copying.

The sudden appearance of the red *H* indicates an interesting division of labor in the making of the book. I cannot imagine that the rubricator put in the quire signatures as he went along, changing his ink or his pen when he came to the end of a gathering. It is more probable that a special scribe put in the signatures and that he omitted that of Quire VIII inadvertently. It was the rubricator, following him, who caught up the error and remedied it with red-inked pen *en passant*. Of course it may be that these several operations were performed by one and the same scribe — Dodaldus.

Ruling. This is clearly, to adopt my terminology, 4 (2) O.S.³ After the ruling was finished, the leaves were folded, as Dom Wilmart makes clear, with the main ruling sometimes on the outer leaves of the gatherings, sometimes on the middle leaves within. In Quires II-XI and XIV, two, not four, leaves were ruled at a time. He suggests the further possibility⁴ that in some cases that I should call 4 O.S., only two leaves were ruled at a time, the two now in the inside of the gathering being more faintly ruled than the two on the outside. I noted no such condition, perhaps because I have never seen it in other books. Possibly it does exist both here and elsewhere — though I cannot appreciate the motive that would lead to the practice. The matter deserves further investigation.

Contents. The complete *explicit* is:

. . . cū a&erno patre & spū scō · & in cuncta sc̄la sclorum. ām EXPLIC̄ TRACTA-
TUS PSALMORŪ SCĪ HIERONIMI⁵ PRAESBITERI NUMERO · CL · QUI
LEGIS ORE P[RO] SCRIPTORE DODALDO CLERICO SI DŅM HABEAS
P[RO]TECTORĒ · AM

Since this *explicit* is in the same sort of red uncials as those used in the headings throughout the book, they are probably also by Dodaldus. Therefore, as already surmised, he may likewise have added the quire signatures,

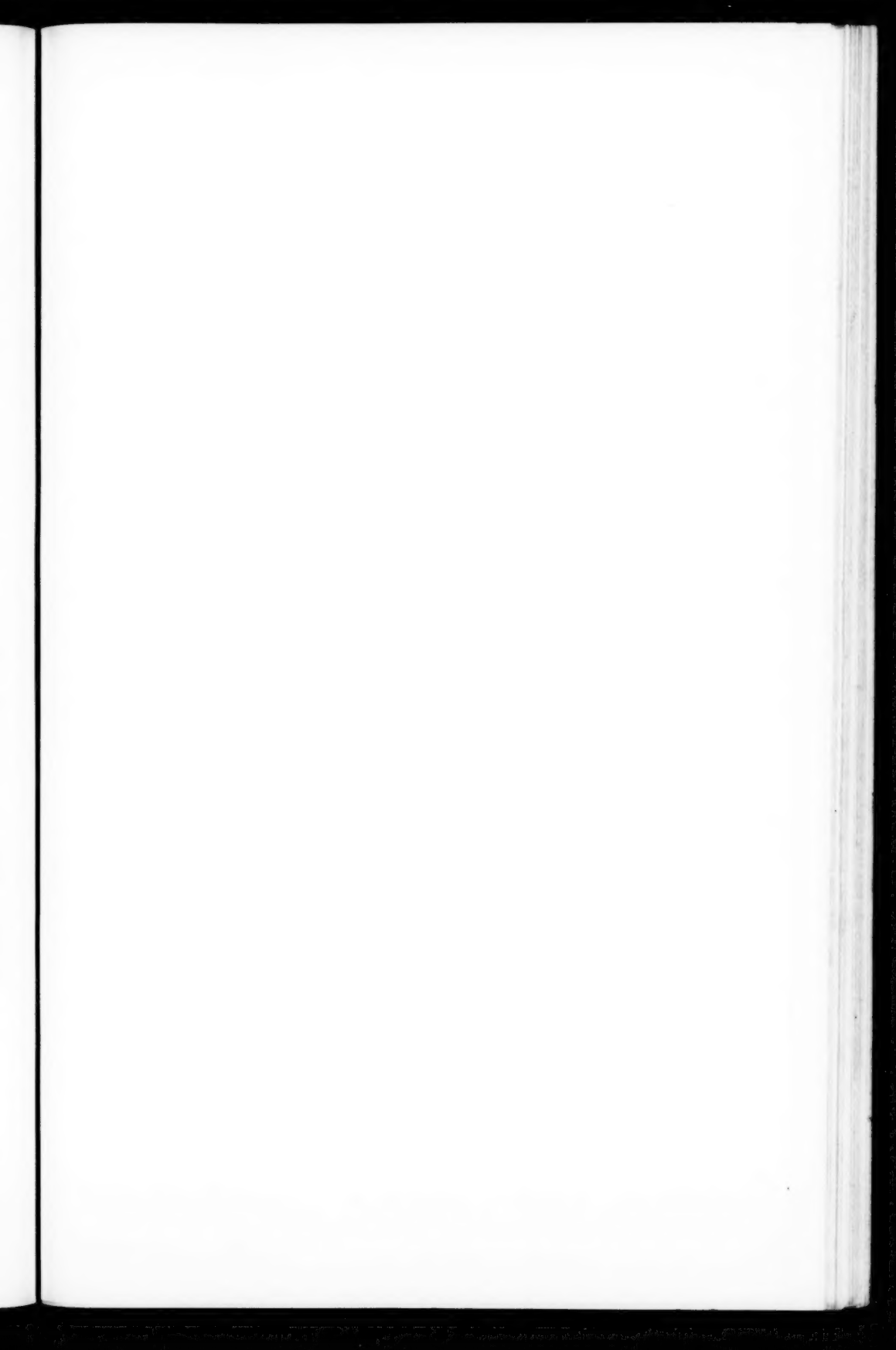
¹ *Survey*, p. 46.

² *Survey*, pp. 19 f.

³ *Survey*, p. 12.

⁴ P. 580, n. 6.

⁵ Not *Iheronimi* as stated in the *Catalogue*.



Tenticulas ipsorum; melius est modicum iusto. super diuitias
peccatorum multas; Inquit enim illud quod dñs ait in euangelio.
Quid prodest homini si mundum uniuersum lucratur. animae
autem suae detrimentum paciatur. Modicum autem quod
dixit. fides est. quae quamquam grano senapis comparatur mag-
nam tamen habet uirtutem; Melius est modicum iusto. super
diuitias peccatorum multas; Quamuis parua sint meliores sunt.
Qui dixit salomon. melior est exigua portio cum requie quam plena
manus cum iniquitate; Quoniam brachia peccatorum conterentur;
Vixicia id est forditudo illorum conteritur in uindicta.
Ne innocentibus noceant; Confirmat autem iustos dñs. In fide.
aduersus tantum infirmato robore; Nouit dñs dies immacula-
torum. id est conuersationem illorum; Nouit dñs quis sunt
eius; In mundos autem. & eos quicum ignorant. nescit; Omnis
enim ignorans. ignorabitur; & hereditas eorum in aeternum erit.
In xpo qui est perpetuus aeternus; Uel in aeternum erit. hoc est
inuita aeterna; Non confundentur in tempore malo & in diebus
famis saturabuntur; Tempus malum iudicium. & tempus offen-
dit. in quo cum iusti non paciantur famem. De peccatoribus
dicitur. Uae uobis qui saturati estis quoniam esuritis; Non con-
fundentur in tempore malo; In tempore discussionis. quod
impis malum erit; & in diebus famis saturabuntur;

supplying his own omission in Q. VIII. We may in fact guess — but only guess — that the ornamental initials are also by his hand.¹

Script. Majuscules. The ornamental initials belong in the field of illumination. Dom Wilmart's data are a welcome addition to Köhler's masterly treatment in his article and his recent book.² For an authoritative estimate of illumination of our manuscript, we look to the latter scholar. It should be noted that animal forms are not the only important features so far as the School of Tours is concerned. Very prominent is the crude leaf, or palmette with 'eyes,' used to decorate the ends of shafts or circles or to hang from the mouth of a beast.³ Examples of this crude leaf in 'Prealucinian' or in 'Regular' books of Tours may be found in Köhler's book⁴ or in mine.⁵

Less pretentious than the initials reproduced in the plates are numerous others described and listed by Dom Wilmart. They constitute a veritable font and richly deserve publication as a basis of comparison with those in other manuscripts. They contain the crude leaves in plenty.

We now descend to the ordinary majuscules. What are ordinary majuscules? It is hard to draw the line between art and palaeography — in fact impossible. To the scribe, every stroke that he drew was an act of artistic creation. A higher degree of proficiency was of course requisite for producing ornamental initials, but it took an artist also to make the simpler sort. Some of those in the present book are simple enough, containing merely the outline of the letters.

As to headings, we can see even though the beginning of the book has been lost, that the more important headings were in the mixed and fanciful sort of capitals that are characteristic of E.M.⁶ Minor headings and the *explicit* are in red uncials, not particularly well made, likewise in keeping with the styles of E.M.⁷

One variety of majuscules remains, that which is used throughout the book for the beginnings of sentences. These initial letters are mixed capitals, uncials, semiuncials and enlarged minuscules. Plate v shows specimens of these varieties, including a semi-uncial *m*. Habits vary in the use of initials

¹ In *Harl. 2790* and *Chartres 24* the names Gedeon and Audradus are surely those of the artists who illuminated those books, since the names are inserted within the ornamentation. (See *Survey*, pp. 106, 134). Dom Wilmart is indubitably right in rejecting Köhler's suggestion that Audradus is the name of the owner of the book. (See above, p. 577, n. 2).

² See above, Notes 8 and 9. I will refer to the article as *Degeringer-Festgabe* and to the book as *Die Schule von Tours*.

³ See Dom Wilmart's plates.

⁴ Taf. 1, 12, b. Some of the E.M. books contain, like *Chartres 3*, initials in which the leaf is the chief form of decoration; see Taf. 1, 7; 11 h.

⁵ E.g. *Survey* Plates xx; xxiv; xxv; lx; lxxxv; lxxxvi.

⁶ See Plates I-IV and *Survey*, p. 46.

⁷ *Ibid.*

in different periods in the script of Tours — a matter that deserves study. I took many notes but did not formulate results for presentation in *Survey*. In general, the Regular Style prefers uncials, with square capitals for the more important sentence-beginnings, or for initials that happen to come in the margin; the E. M. Style shows the same kind of mixture that we find in the book of Chartres.

Semiuncial is neglected, as it is in some of the books of this class.¹ The initial semiuncial *m* shows that the scribe was familiar with the variety, as a scribe of Tours was bound to be.²

The characteristics of the minuscule are well described by Dom Wilmart; they agree with those of the E. M. Style.³ The reader may well feel with Dom Wilmart that the script at first sight seems only doubtfully that of Tours. Plate v should convince him that, as Dom Wilmart remarks, we have here a close approach to the Regular Style — in the general appearance, merely, for here as elsewhere certain of the ancient ligatures are retained and embellished, not discarded as they would be in the Regular Style. One might perhaps imagine, after looking at the facsimiles, that a different hand is here at work. But a study of the entire book convinced me, as it evidently convinced Dom Wilmart, that it is all the work of Dodaldus.

Abbreviations. From Dom Wilmart's careful list it is evident that our scribe adheres closely to what I call the 'Regular Abbreviations.'⁴ Like most of the scribes of the E. M. Style, he intends to use even the ordinary varieties sparingly, though considerations of space, especially as the book draws to its close, force him to employ most of those in vogue at St Martin's. A desperate expedient in a crowded place is the use of two *i*-subscripts as well as the symbol for *us* in *meminimus* (fol. 202^r), which runs out into the margin. We may note that *ueter* (urt, urm, etc.) is abbreviated as well as *noster*, and that *nt* (for *noster*), which Dom Wilmart notes as exceptional, is frequent in the books of Tours. Among the *nomina sacra*, *dd* (*David*, fol. 109^r), though perhaps by a later hand, may be mentioned, as well as the liturgical *qs* (*quiesumus*, fol. 120^v). The abbreviation *ir̄l* (*Israhel*, instead of *isrl*) is a curiosity, and *nō* for *non* is most unusual in books of Tours. I failed to notice it, but it did not escape Dom Wilmart. In general, the tendency to avoid abbreviation and to use few if any symbols outside of those in the Regular List bespeaks a book of St. Martin's.

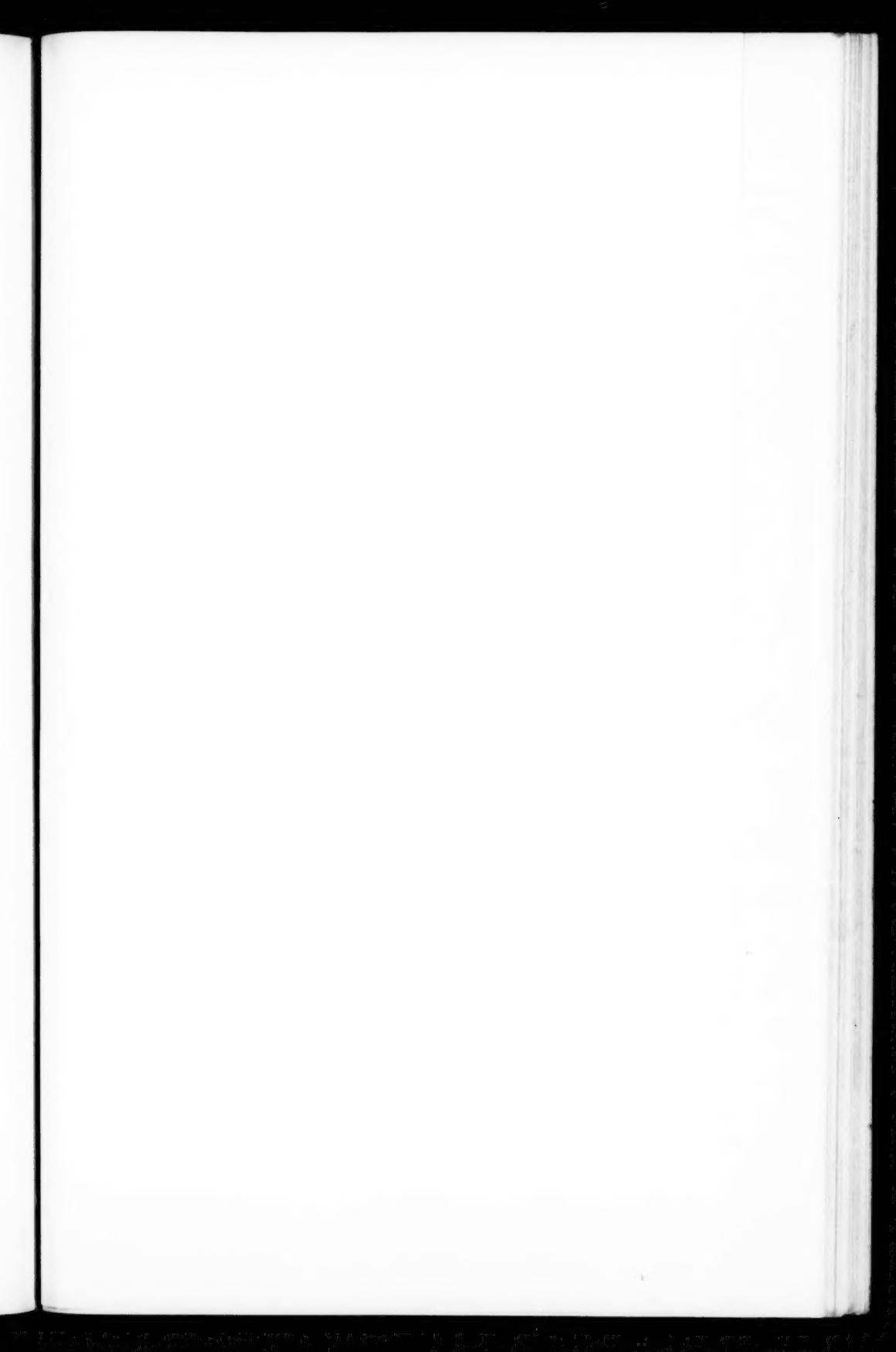
A symbol of special interest is $\frac{2}{7}$, for *tur*, which is certainly favored by Dodaldus. Though admitting the presence of that symbol in the Alcuinian

¹ *Survey*, p. 46.

² Plate v. For a semiuncial *m* as initial in an E. M. book (Paris, *B.N. lat. 260*), see *Survey*, Plate LI, 1.

³ *Survey*, pp. 45 f.

⁴ *Survey*, pp. 27 f.



L. LVII Honoratus s. an. viii. d. xviii.
 L. LVIII Johannes s. an. ii. m. viii. d. xvii.
 L. LVIX Felix s. an. iii. m. ii. d. xiii.
 L. LX Bonifacius s. an. ii. d. xxvi.
 L. LXI Johannes s. an. ii. m. iii. d. vi.
 L. LXII Agapinus s. an. xi. d. xviii.
 L. LXIII Silvester s. an. i. m. v. d. xi.
 L. LXIV Uigilius s. an. xvii. m. vi. d. xxvi.
 L. LXV Palagius s. an. xi. m. x. d. xviii.
 L. LXVI Johannes s. an. xii. m. xi. d. xxvi.
 L. LXVII Benedictus s. an. iii. m. i. d. xxxviii.
 L. LXVIII Palagius s. an. x. m. ii. d. x.
 L. LXIX Gregorius s. an. xiii. m. vi. d. x.
 L. LXX Sabastianus s. an. i. m. v. d. viii.
 L. LXXI Bonifacius s. m. viii. d. xii.
 L. LXXII Bonifacius s. an. viii. m. viii. d. xiii.
 L. LXXIII Deusdedit s. an. iii. d. xxiii.
 L. LXXIV Bonifacius s. an. v.
 L. LXXV Honoratus s. an. xii. m. xi. d. xvii.
 L. LXXVI Gouernius s. an. ii.
 L. LXXVII Joh. s. an. i. m. viii. d. xviii.
 L. LXXVIII Theodorus s. an. vi. m. v. d. xviii.
 L. LXXIX Mar. anus s. an. vi. m. i. d. xxiii.
 L. LXXX Eugenius s. an. ii. m. viii. d. xxiii.
 L. LXXXI Vitalianus s. an. xiiii. m. vi.

L. LXXXII Ginnus s. d. xx.
 L. LXXXIII Constantinus s. an. vii. d. xxv.
 L. LXXXIV Gregorius s. an. xvi. m. viii. d. xi.
 L. LXXXV Gregorius s. an. x. m. viii. d. xxv.
 L. LXXXVI Zacharius s. an. x. m. iii. d. xiii.
 L. LXXXVII Stephanus s. an. v. d. xxviii.
 L. LXXXVIII Paulus s. an. x. m. i.
 L. LXXXIX Stephanus s. an. iii. m. v. d. xxvii.
 L. LXXXX Adrianus s. an. xxi. m. x. d. xvii.
 L. LXXXXI Leo papa.

Alexand. **B**exordium mundi usq; ad diluui-
 u sunt anni duo milia. cc. xl. & ii.
 Ad diluuius que ad na-
 tuitatem abrahe. sunt anni. dccc. cxlii.
 Passum autem dnm nrm ihm xpm
 paco ab or tu mundi quinque milia
 ccc. xx. & viii. anni.
 A passione dnm nrm ihu xpi us que ad
 seden beatus simi marcellini pape r
 anni. cc. lxxvi. m. viii.
 De apostolico iam factu xpi martiris
 marcellini us que tempus gloriosissi-
 mi domni Karoli regis xxv. annis q
 ni eius hoc est usq; viii. kl. aprt sum
 anni. cccc. xc. & mensis iii.

period or just before it,¹ I feel that a book in which it is so prominent as *Chartres 3* should be assigned not to the beginning of the century, where Dom Wilmart puts it, but rather to the Transitional Period in the vicinity of 820. More on this point later.

First let us briefly consider the case of a manuscript that in Köhler's first treatment of the subject seemed of crucial importance — Paris, *B.N. 1451*. It is carefully described by Maassen,² since it contains a collection of canons called by him, owing to the provenance of *B.N. 1451*, (Saint Maure-des-Fossés), *Collectio Mauri*. The book is apparently dated 796 A.D., and if so, is a palaeographical monument of the first importance. It was so regarded by Delisle,³ by Prou,⁴ by Köhler in his article,⁵ and by Dom Wilmart.⁶ Köhler was the first to claim the book for Tours, on the strength of the ornamentation. Prolonged study of the manuscript convinced me that it was not a product of St Martin's; my opinion was supported by Beeson and Lauer and finally by Köhler himself.⁷ Dom Wilmart is reluctant to surrender Köhler's first estimate of this manuscript. He admits that the script does not look like that of Tours, but neither, he finds, does that of Chartres 3, which must be of that school owing both to the ornamentation and to the signature of Dodaldus. Decisive to my mind are the character of the abbreviations⁸ and the form of the *g* in the different hands of the manuscript. A *g* in which the stroke from the cap descends nearly or altogether at right angles to the line of the text nowhere appears, to the best of my knowledge, in any of the certain books of Tours. The form of the letter in the manuscript of Chartres, while less perfect than that seen in some of the books of the E. M. Style, is clearly of the same type.⁹ If ornamentation alone is a sufficient test, then another manuscript, to which in 1926 Köhler called my attention, *B.N. 4404*, *Breviarium Alarici*, deserves a place among the books of Tours. Both the crude leaf and the intertwining beasts may be seen in Plates LVII and LVIII of *Survey*,¹⁰ and the script seems nearer to that of Tours

¹ *Survey*, p. 26.

² F. Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Mittelalter*, I (1870), pp. 613-624.

³ *Cabinet der Manuscripts*, III, 242, pl. XXI, 4.

⁴ *Manuel de Paléographie*, 3d ed; Paris, 1910, p. 177, pl. VII, 1.

⁵ *Degeringer Festgabe*, p. 180.

⁶ 'Manuscripts de Tours copiés et décorés vers le temps d'Alcuin,' *Revue Bénédictine*, XLII (1930), 50.

⁷ *Survey*, p. 116.

⁸ See *Survey*, *ibid.*

⁹ Compare, e.g., Plate v with *Survey*, Plate xxxviii, the Leyden Nonius.

¹⁰ The twisted animals in the arch pictured on Plate LVIII, 1 are much like those on Köhler's Taf. 1, 1 (*St Gall* 75); 4 a, d, e; (*B. N. lat.* 260); 6 e (*Harl.* 2790). Notice in particular the treatment of the bird's tail, elongated into a kind of gourd.

than that of *B. N. 1451* does. And yet I know of none versed in manuscripts who has ascribed the book to Tours.¹ Both script and ornamentation suggest a thorough-going, if rather crude, imitation of the E. M. Style — and also imitative is the workmanship of *B. N. 1451*.

What of its date? On fol. 7^r appears a catalogue of Popes ending with the name of Hadrian (No. *xcvii*); that of Leo III (795–816) is added by another hand between the lines.² There follows immediately a chronological note:

Ab exordio mundi usque ad diluuium sunt anni duo milia *ccxl* & *ii*.

A diluio usque ad natiuitatem Abrahae sunt anni *dccccxlii*.

(*Ad*) passum autem dominum nostrum Iesum Christum peracti sunt³ ab ortu mundi quinque milia *ccxx* & *viii* anni.

A passione domini nostri Iesu Christi usque ad sedem beatissimi Marcellini pape sunt anni *cclxxvi*, menses *viii*.

De apostolato (*sic*) iam facto Christi martyris Marcellini usque tempus gloriosissimi domni Karoli regis *xxv* anni regni eius, hoc est usque kal. april. sunt anni *cccc* · *xc* & menses *iii*.

One line is left blank before the end of the page, and fol. 7^v begins with the Athanasian Creed.

In my summary account of this manuscript,⁴ I stated that the supposed evidence for the date, 796, is not at all conclusive. Such notes are sometimes reproduced blindly in later copies.⁵ Such may have been the opinion of Maassen, who describes the contents of the manuscript carefully and prints the chronological note, yet calls the date of the book '*Saec. ix*.'⁶ A new manuscript of the work was found in The Hague⁷ by W. Levison,⁸ who attributes it to the end of the eighth century. He does not declare it the source of *B. N. 1451* and of the third manuscript (*Vat. Reg. lat. 1127, saec. ix*) of these canons, but states that it is decidedly the best of the three and that they all are closely related. Here is a problem in manuscript affiliation for somebody to solve, of much importance for the history of the Script of Tours. In stating that *B. N. 1451* was written 'um 800,' Levison apparently indicates that the date 796 should not be taken too exactly.

That, at any rate, is the case. I would, however, retract the statement made in my book⁹ that the date of *B. N. 1451* was 'considerably later than

¹ See *Survey*, p. 117, for the opinions of Krusch, Beeson, and Lauer.

² 'xc. viii. Leo papa.' See Plate vi.

³ *pactis, cod.* Evidently from *pacti s̄*.

⁴ *Survey*, p. 116.

⁵ As in the famous case of the Escorial Isidore (*T II 24*); See E. A. Lowe, 'Studia Palaeographica,' *Sitzungsber. der königl. bayer. Akademie* (Munich, 1910), p. 81.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 613.

⁷ *Museum Meermannno-Westreecianum, Fol. 4 (Meermannianus 583, Claremontanus 583)*.

⁸ *Neues Archiv*, xxxviii (1913), 513.

⁹ *Survey*, p. 116.

796.' For although the chronological note, as I shall try to show, was copied bodily from an earlier book, the insertion of *xc. viii Leo papa* between the lines could hardly have been made at a time later than the papacy of Leo III (795-816), since otherwise the scribe would have continued with the names of Pope Leo's successors. He had over half of the interlinear space at his disposal and could have completed the list in the margin. It therefore follows that the manuscript was written at least before 816.

We may now examine the statement in the chronological note. On the death of Carloman, December 4, 771, Charlemagne became sole ruler of the kingdom over which they had jointly ruled.¹ The twenty-fifth year of his reign began December 4, 795. Pope Hadrian died on December 25, 795, and on the very day of his burial, December 26, Leo was elected to succeed him.² The original writer of the list of the Popes and of the chronological note might have penned that part of his work between December 4 and December 26, 795, or inasmuch as he did not live in the age of telegraph and daily papers, he might not have heard of the death of Pope Hadrian before the year 796 began. Furthermore, it might have taken him several days — or several weeks — to finish the remainder of his book.³ The date of writing, therefore, had best be stated as 795-796.

This is not, I believe, the date at which *B. N. lat. 1451* was written. That the scribe was copying the note from an earlier source is manifest from the corruption of the text, as indicated in my transcription, and from the erroneous statement about the period intervening between the Passion of Our Lord and the accession of Pope Marcellinus and about that between the latter event and the twenty-fifth year of Charlemagne's reign.⁴ Two hundred and seventy-six years and nine months before Marcellinus would give September 19 B.C. as the date for the Crucifixion. Four hundred and ninety years and three months after June 30, 296 bring us only to September 786. Even if the scribe intends to start with the death of St Marcellinus, April 26, 304, he reaches no further than July, 794. I conclude therefore that he copies his note from an earlier source and that he confuses the numerals in copying. This earlier source might perhaps be the *Meermannianus*.⁵ On deciding that *B. N. 1451* could no longer be considered a product of the School of Tours, Köhler excluded it from consideration and thereby found his account of the E. M. Style deprived of its chronological starting-point;

¹ J. I. Mombert, *A History of Charles the Great* (New York, 1888), p. 82.

² H. K. Mann, *The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1906), II, 6.

³ Equivalent to at least 214 pages of the present manuscript, which is incomplete at the end.

⁴ St Marcellinus was elevated to the Papacy on June 30, 296.

⁵ Unfortunately, that manuscript, defective at the beginning, does not contain the section of the text where the note occurs. How about the Vatican manuscript?

his proof, therefore, reverts to internal considerations.¹ Something more, however, may be done with the chronological evidence contained in the Paris manuscript — in fact it is quite as valuable as before. We may not regard the book as typical of what was done at St Martin's in 796, but it shows us that before 816, and possibly as early as 796, the E.M. Style had become known, *outside St Martin's*. We must allow some time from the invention of the style to the achievement of so successful an imitation as lies before us in the present book. The date of the invention, therefore, was in all probability as early as the period of Alcuin's incumbency at St Martin's (796-804), and may indeed have preceded his arrival.²

How long did the E. M. Style continue? The asking of this question raises another, to which Dom Wilmart's articles have given a new prominence, namely the chronological evidence given by the list of the monks of Tours in *Liber Confraternitatum* of St Gall. The appearance of the name of Dodaldus as No. 161 in the list of 219 introduces a problem that Dom Wilmart is not slow to raise. It is a curious fact that although in general few names of scribes or artists have been found in the manuscripts of Tours, almost all that we have are identified either with the Vatican Livy or with writers of books in the E. M. Style.³ Furthermore, just as the scribes of the Vatican Livy occupy neighboring positions in the list (nos. 42-77), so do those of the E. M. Style:

- | | |
|----------------|-------------------------------|
| 152. Adalbaldu | (<i>B. N. 17227</i>) |
| 161. Dodaldus | (<i>Chartres, 3</i>) |
| 175. Amatricus | (<i>Monza, G. 1</i>) |
| 190. Gedeon | (<i>London, Harl. 2790</i>) |

A natural conclusion would be that just as the earlier numbers represent an older group the later numbers represent a later group. But the E. M. group is 'Alcuinian.' Dom Wilmart, therefore, is inclined to believe either that the list was written earlier than I had placed it, say 807, or that this portion of the list was misplaced in the original form which the two St Gall lists were copied. Neither hypothesis attracts. The latter looks like a *Notbehelf* and the former is hard to explain in view of the facts that I formerly collected, and need not again discuss.⁴

¹ *Die Schule von Tours*, p. 46.

² Similar evidence is furnished by *Cambrai 295*, which was written about 816 or a bit before (*Survey*, p. 114, Plate LV). Nos. 39, 41, 42, 43 and 46 on my list also illustrate the presence of the E. M. style in other scriptoria.

³ See *Survey*, pp. 20 f. I would here acknowledge my indebtedness to Dom Wilmart for correcting my remarks on the supposed humility of monkish scribes and artists. (*Survey*, p. 21). I should have merely laid emphasis on the fact — and it is a most important one — that some signatures are not by the scribes themselves but by the director of the scriptorium. This point deserves further investigation.

⁴ See Rand and Howe, 'The Vatican Livy and the Script of Tours,' *Memoirs of the American*

The problem may be readily solved if we assumed that the E. M. Style was not confined to the brief space of time occupied by Alcuin's incumbency at St Martin's. Dom Wilmart, in fact, would extend the lower limit to about 810.¹ Köhler notes a development in certain aspects of the ornamentation of these books, and ranges it in a period of about two decades.² In my book,³ I waived an attempt to arrange the E. M. manuscripts in a chronological order, and indicated my opinion that they 'range from about the time that Alcuin came to Tours to about two decades after his death.' I will present in a moment a tentative chronology of the books and again affirm my belief that about two decades — more rather than less — constitute the period in which the E.M. Style was cultivated at Tours. I also would reaffirm my belief that the names in the St Gall lists are arranged in an approximately chronological order and that therefore Nos. 152–190 would include *ceteris paribus* the younger and more active members of St Martin's in 820, the approximate date of the list.

Now for the 'problems,' one by one. No. 152 is Adalbaldus, but is he the scribe of that name who wrote *B. N. 17227*? I formerly thought⁴ that we should attribute that book to the earlier Adalbaldus (No. 58) and regard the later Adalbaldus (No. 152) as the writer of the Quedlinburg *Martinellus* and certain other manuscripts in the same style. I am now inclined to believe⁵ that *B. N. 17227* and the Quedlinburg *Gospels* represent respectively an earlier and a later manner of the same scribe. In either case the Paris book offers no problem, since it belongs to the period of No. 58, i.e., that of the writers of the Vatican *Livy*. It might have been written at the end of Alcuin's régime or not long thereafter. Dom Wilmart assigns it approximately to the years 805–810;⁶ with such a dating I should not quarrel. Köhler possibly would put the book a bit later than palaeographical considerations and the St Gall list would seem to me to warrant. It is No. 6 on his original list of six,⁷ and No. 9 on his later list of eleven.⁸

The *Bible* of Monza by Amalricus is put late by both Dom Wilmart (in the same period as *B. N. 17227*, i.e., possibly as late as 810) and by Köhler

Academy in Rome, I (1917), pp. 26–33. Note particularly the case of Hagano and Adiutor (p. 27). Unless we assume that the name of Hagano was accidentally omitted from the list sent to St Gall, the time of compiling it could not have been before 818.

¹ See above, p. 575.

² *Die Schule von Tours*, p. 47: 'in der Gesamtheit einer Zeitspanne von kaum viel mehr als zwei Jahrzehnten.'

³ *Survey*, p. 48.

⁴ *The Vatican Livy*, p. 33.

⁵ *Survey*, p. 58.

⁶ *Revue Bénédictine*, 1930, p. 54.

⁷ *Degeringer Festgabe*, p. 175.

⁸ *Die Schule von Tours*, pp. 71, 369.

(No. 5 in his first list, No. 10 in his second). On the basis of the St Gall list and the known facts in the career of Amalricus,¹ I argued² that the *Bible* of Monza might have been written as late as 820 or ten years or so before, though hardly during Alcuin's life-time. If we call the date approximately 810 all parties to this controversy would apparently be satisfied.

Gedeon, No. 190, is the maker of the beautiful *Gospels* of St Cyr of Nevers (*London, Brit. Mus., Harl. 2790*). Gedeon must have been young c. 820, when the list was prepared, and about that time this book might have been written. Both of my friends might be unwilling to put it as late as this. Dom Wilmart groups it with the two books just discussed, and it thus would be written c. 805–810. It stands No. 4 in Köhler's first list and No. 5 in his second; it is thus, in his estimation, an early book, done under Alcuin or shortly after his demise. It should be noted that one of the hands (B) cultivates the Regular Style; the only deviation is the occasional presence of an open *a*.³ If all that remained of the manuscript were the stretch of parchment covered by this hand,⁴ one would most naturally associate the minuscule with that of some of the hands of the *Grandval Bible*,⁵ the *Nancy Gospels*,⁶ or the *Quedlinburg Martinellus*.⁷ These books, whatever their exact date, are typical of the work done in the latter part of the régime of Fridugisus (ca. 820–834)⁸ or that of his successor Adalhardus (834–843).⁹ Sir Edward Maunde Thompson associated the *Gospel* of Nevers with the *Quedlinburg Martinellus* and the *Gospels* of Lothair¹⁰ and declared that 'the script of the three examples may be accepted as the purest form of the Carolingian minuscule of the ninth century'.¹¹ His date for the *Gospel* of Nevers, c. 840 A.D., is assuredly wrong, but not his feeling that for elegance of achievement the book deserves mention with the other two. I am speaking, of course, primarily, of the script, but, for all that I can see, there is nothing in the or-

¹ *The Vatican Library*, p. 28.

² *Survey*, p. 107.

³ *Survey*, p. 106.

⁴ Plate XL. 1. It should be noted that the heading and the marginal initials are plainly of the E. M. Style. Either they were put in by another scribe, or the scribe of the text conforms that part of his work to the general style of the book. His *minuscule* — that is the point — is Regular and not E. M. Another specimen of this hand is shown in *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum*, II (1884), Plate 44.

⁵ *Survey*, p. 135. There are better analogies than the minuscule shown on Plate xciv. 1. See e.g. *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts*, Plate 42.

⁶ Plate xcvi.

⁷ Plate cix. 2.

⁸ *Survey*, p. 53.

⁹ *Die Schule von Tours*, p. 434.

¹⁰ Done between 849 and 851. See *Die Schule von Tours*, p. 289.

¹¹ *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford, 1912), p. 411.

namentation that prevents so late a date as 820, at which time the scribe Gedeon, by the evidence of the St Gall list, would have been in his youthful prime. If there are absolutely compelling reasons for putting the book in Alcuin's regime, then, instead of dating the whole list earlier or supposing that a part of it was transposed in copying, it is easier to assume the existence of an elder Gedeon, who had died at the time when the list was drawn up. A number of the names that it includes occur more than once. Thus among the scribes mentioned above, we note an earlier and a later Adalbaldu¹ and an earlier and a later Amalricus.² Taking merely the first forty names on the list, we find that Waltarius³ and Erchanaldus⁴ are later repeated, and that Lenthardus appears twice again.⁵ It is therefore by no means impossible that there was an earlier Gedeon than No. 190.

In either event, here is one of the more elegant specimens of the Script of Tours done at a time when both the E. M. and the Regular varieties were practised at St Martin's. Whether that period be the regime of Alcuin or that of Fridugisus, important conclusions must be drawn from the fact. I would accept — at least until Köhler and Dom Wilmart have spoken again — the latter supposition, since it best accords with the evidence of the St Gall list.

The case of Dodaldus remains. He is a somewhat older contemporary (No. 161) of Gedeon (No. 190). The execution of the book is, in general, inferior to that of the *Gospels* of Nevers, though Dodaldus can write carefully when he wants to.⁶ There is nothing to suggest in the one book the crude beginnings of an art and in the other its later perfection. Elaboration, simplicity, and hasty workmanship may all be found at any period in the history of any scriptorium. I am impressed by the general character of the script that the book of Dodaldus was written in the later, not the earlier part of the development of the E.M. Style, and that impression is supported by the use of the abbreviation \ddot{t} and by the place of Dodaldus's name on the List.

Finally, in view of Dom Wilmart's classification⁷ and Köhler's latest statement⁸ I would venture, after repeating these two lists, to offer a tentative chronological list of the books of the E.M. Style.

¹ Nos. 58 and 152.

² Nos. 172 and 212.

³ Nos. 11 and 183.

⁴ Nos. 32 and 181.

⁵ Nos. 39, 52, 109.

⁶ See Plate VIII.

⁷ *Revue Bénédictine*, 1930, p. 54.

⁸ *Die Schule von Tours*, pp. 71, 364 ff. I include only the books treated by Köhler in the first of his groups under the heading 'I. Abt Alkuin 796-804,' (p. 364). I gather, once more, that he would allow later dates for some of them.

DOM WILMART

1. (796 A.D.) *Paris B.N. lat. 1451*
2. (c. 800) *London, Harley, 2793.*
3. (c. 803-804) *Troyes, 1742.*
4. (c. 805-810) *Leyden, Voss. L.F. 73.*
5. (c. 805-810) *London, Harley 2790.*
6. (c. 805-810) *Paris, B.N. lat. 17227.*
7. (c. 805-810) *Monza, G. 1.*

KÖHLER

1. *St Gall. 75.*
2. *St Gall. 268.*
3. *Paris, B.N. lat. 4333 B*
4. *Paris, B.N. lat. 260.*
5. *London, Harley 2790.*
6. *Troyes, 1742.*
7. *London, Harley 2793.*
9. *Paris, B.N. lat. 17227.*
10. *Monza, G. 1.*
11. *Ghent, 102.*

Of the books on Köhler's list, I have not inspected Nos. 1 and 2 recently or adequately, and No. 11, have seen only in his photographs. I accept for the moment Köhler's verdict on No. 1 (*St Gall 75*), though I am dubious about it. From a study of his photographs during a memorable conference with him in 1927, I came to the opinion that No. 2 (*St Gall 268*) was not written at Tours. No. 11 (*Ghent 102*) is of special interest since it comes from Marmoutier; if it was written there, it is the only known product of that scriptorium in the E.M. Style.¹

No. 3 on Köhler's list I should still assign to the Prealcuinian Period. Possibly this book and others that I have so assigned should be regarded as Alcuinian. After renewed consideration, I would, for the moment, leave them where they are. I will not here include what I listed as 'Uncertain Members of Group iva.'² Of these Nos. 39 and 46 may perhaps be products of St Martin's. The others, in my opinion, were written at other centres under the influence of Tours, I append the numbers under which I have registered the manuscripts in *Survey*.

REGIME OF ALCUIN

1. (No. 33) *St Gall, 75.*
2. (No. 38) *Troyes, 1742.*
3. (No. 36) *Paris, B. N. lat 260.*
4. (No. 31) *Paris, B. N. lat 18312.*
5. (No. 37) *Rome, Vat. Pal. lat. 153.*
6. (No. 30) *Paris, B. N. lat. 17227.*

REGIME OF FRIDUGISUS

- a) c. 810.
7. (No. 26) *Leyden, Voss. L. F. 73.*
8. (No. 29) *Monza, G. 1.*
- b) c. 820
9. *Chartres, 3.*
10. (No. 28), *London, Harley 2793.*

¹ *Survey*, p. 48.

² *Survey*, pp. 114-117, Nos. 39-46.

11. (No. 27), *London, Harley 2790.*
12. (No. 24), *Ghent, 102 (Marmoutier?)*
13. (No. 34), *Tours, 273 (St. Gatian?)*
14. (No. 32), *Paris, Ste. Gen. 1260.*
15. (No. 35), *New York, Morgan, 191 (Hand L).*¹

This list I entrust to the kindly, or the destructive, breeze as a *ballon d'essai*. Its agreements, and its disagreements with those proposed by my friends will be patent to the reader. It is encouraging that scholars working independently on problems so delicate should so often coincide in their results. It is to be hoped that the points of difference are such that from further conflicts of opinion and further adjustments there may emerge an accepted history of the Script of Tours in Alcuin's time. Furthermore, as I tried to set forth in my book, the style of script called by Köhler Alcuinian tells only half the story.

¹ This hand, or one very like it wrote all of No. 32 and parts of two other MSS. Cf. *Sureey*, p. 110. I no longer think that it wrote No. 320.

Further consideration of the problems raised by the manuscript of Chartres will be found in a review of Köhler's work in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* and in an article in the *Harvard Theological Review*, both shortly to appear.

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NOTES

FRAGMENTE VON METRISCHEN HEILIGENVITEN AUS DEM XII^{TEN} JAHRHUNDERT

(*VITAE S. THEODERICI ET S. THEODULPHI*)

VOR einiger Zeit las ich im *Catalogue général* xxxviii (1904), 76ff. das Fragment des Gedichtes über S. Theodericus, das der Herausgeber des Katalogs, Henry Lorique, aus der Handschrift Reims 79/81 (s. XII) mitteilte; die Verse stehen auf einem Pergament-Blatt, das auf der Innenseite des Vorderdeckels aufgeklebt ist. Es sind die Verse 44–111 des unten abgedruckten Fragmentes. Lorique setzte hinzu: 'Si l'on décollait ce feuillet, on en trouverait sans doute autant sur le recto.' Da mich das Stück formal und inhaltlich interessierte, bat ich die Bibliotheksverwaltung, das Blatt abzulösen und mir eine Photographie zu beschaffen. Dieser Bitte wurde von dem Herrn Conservator der Reimser Stadtbibliothek in der lebenswürdigsten Weise entsprochen. Die iii Verse, die mir nun vorliegen, stellen den Anfang einer Vita S. Theoderici (†533) dar, die — soweit ich sehe — sonst nirgends erhalten ist und allein schon deshalb der Mitteilung wert erscheint.

Die *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. Juli 1, S. 53 ff. (ed. noviss. cur. Joanne Carandet) bieten zwei Prosa-Viten des Heiligen, die zweite, längere, offenbar nur eine Aufschwellung der ersten; beide wurden zuerst von Mabillon bekannt gemacht (*Annal. Bened.* 1, 681 ff. u. *Acta SS. ord. Bened.* 1, 614 ff.). Nach Ansicht des Herausgebers der *Acta SS.* hat die ältere kürzere Vita dem Verfasser der *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, Flodoardus (†971), als Quelle vorgelegen. Ich möchte die Frage der Quellenverhältnisse hier nicht näher untersuchen, sondern nur feststellen, dass der Herausgeber der *Historia*, J. Heller (*Mon. Germ. SS.* XIII [1881], 442, Anmerk. 3) die beiden Viten für jünger hält als Flodoardus und annimmt, sie hätten ihn, oder eher seine Quelle, nur erweitert.

Das Fragment der metrischen Vita schliesst sich am nächsten an die längere Vita (II) an; in beiden ist die Auseinandersetzung zwischen dem Heiligen und seiner jungen Gattin in längerem Dialog ausgeführt; beide haben die Angabe des Heimatortes, die in der kürzeren Vita (I) fehlt, von Flodoardus aber auch überliefert wird: Alamannorum — corte, Vita II Alamandorum curte, Vita metr.: Alemandorum — curthe, das heutige Auménancourt a. d. Suippe, 3 Meilen von Reims. Im übrigen stimmen alle vier Quellen an vielen Stellen fast wörtlich überein. Die Vita metr. weicht aber auch in einigen Punkten von sämtlichen übrigen Texten ab, z. B. in der Angabe, dass der Heilige von vornehmer Abkunft gewesen sei (vv. 8–10), während sonst überliefert ist, der Vater sei ein *latro* gewesen; nur die Vita

II bietet den Namen des Vaters (Marcardus). V. 104 ff. fügt den verschiedenen Erklärungsversuchen für den Namen des Berges, auf dem das Kloster gegründet wird (Mons aureus, Mont d'Or) einen neuen hinzu: 'quasi mons, in quo tumulatur Aaron'; vgl. *Num.* xx, 25–30: Aaron wird auf dem Berge Hor bestattet. Solche Abweichungen von der sonstigen Ueberlieferung mögen auf Lokaltradition beruhen: die Handschrift gehörte S. Thierry in Reims, wo auch die Verse entstanden sein mögen.

Für die Abfassungszeit der *Vita metr.* ergeben sich aus dem Inhalt keine Anhaltspunkte. Die Schrift dürfte etwa der Zeit um 1200 angehören. Der Form nach könnte das Gedicht älter sein; indessen es früher als Anfang 12. Jahrhunderts anzusetzen, scheint mir nicht ratsam, da bis auf v. 100 überall zweisilbiger Reim vorhanden ist, allerdings in 12 von den 111 Leoninern unrein: vv. 16, 27, 40, 42, 45, 54, 55, 70, 80, 82, 105, 111, wovon vv. 40 und 105 ausscheiden, wenn man 'sancti: amanti' und 'tantus: sanctus' in jener Zeit auf französischem Boden als rein annimmt. Die Prosodie ist einwandfrei, mit Ausnahme von v. 43 *tëtra*; aber der Vers weist Korrekturen auf und könnte korrupt sein. Nur bei dem Eigennamen 'Theodericus' wiederholt sich je einmal ein Reimwort; vv. 5 und 60 'amicus,' v. 45 und 110 'pudicus,' aber in beiden Fällen einmal ein Nominativ, das andere Mal ein Genitiv. Im Vergleich zu manchen anderen kirchlichen Texten der Zeit wird man nicht umhin können, dem Dichter eine gewisse Fähigkeit zuzugestehen.

In dem folgenden Abdruck des Fragmentes ist die Orthographie der Handschrift beibehalten, nur ist *v* für *u* gesetzt. Von Interpunktionen verwendet die Handschrift nur den Punkt, bisweilen an falschen Stellen, bisweilen nur Reimpunkt; ich führe die Zeichen der Handschrift nicht an. L = Lesung Loriguets (*Cat. gén.* 38, 76 ff.), Fl. = Flodoardus (Text Hellers, *M. G. SS.* XIII, 442 ff.), *Vita II* = die jüngere, längere Prosavita (Text der *Acta SS.*). Das Stück trägt in der Hs. keine Ueberschrift, doch ist der Raum für eine solche vorhanden; ebenso fehlt die Initiale I; sie ist auch — soweit auf der Photographie erkennbar — nicht vorgezeichnet. Vorher geht in der Handschrift eine metrische *Vita S. Theodulfi* (†Ende 6. Jhd.), ebenfalls in leoninischen Hexametern (s.u.). Mit Rücksicht auf die Abfassungszeit dieser zweiten *Vita* (s.u.) wird man geneigt sein, auch die *Vita S. Theoderici* etwa in die 2. Hälfte des 12. Jhds. zu setzen.

VITA SANCTI THEODERICI

Innocue menti deus offert vim documenti,
 Qui facit insontes doctrine scandere montes.
 Scribam, quid dederit; sua mens mea dogmata querit.

v. 1 nocue Hs, Init. fehlt. — v. 2 doctrine Hs. — v. 3. mea mens sua? jedenfalls ist so verbinden! —

- 5 Illo lustretur, illius fonte rigetur.
 En Theoderici, celorum regis amici,
 Proposui vitam fari meritis redimitam.
 Alemandorum curthe fuit orta suorum;
 Clara propago nimis opibus fulgebat opimis.
 10 Ad baratrum puerum non traxit gloria rerum,
 Omnia calcavit, puer ocia sub pede stravit.
 Ceu rosa florescit, que florem perdere nescit,
 Christo fundatus virtutibus irradiatus
 Enituit mundo, quem vicit fine secundo.
 15 Magno doctore Christi flammatur amore
 Pervigili cura bona doctus amare futura,
 Presule Remigio; sursum consurgit ab imo,
 Normam doctoris sequitur puer omnibus horis.
 Mundi figmentum transire videns quasi ventum,
 20 Hunc aspernatur, pia mens ab eo revocatur
 Et velut errorem timet huius tangere florem.
 Mente tenet stabili nisu servire virili
 Rerum factori firmatus spe meliori.
 Istius insigne nunc pandam carmine digne.
 25 Cum puer hic oritur, fons perspicuus reperitur,
 Miri candoris fons extitit atque saporis,
 Quo lotis pannis pueri splendet tamen amnis.
 Illius ruris cunctis fuit unda salubris;
 Manat adhuc equidem fons hic preclarus ibidem.
 A puero Christi virtus non defuit isti.
 30 Etatis tenere flos non cadit ex muliere
 Corpore virgo nitens, quod haberi mente renitens
 Florescit castus, zabuli quem non gravat astus.
 Nil agit incestum, fugit omne, quod est inhonestum,
 Nil sequitur vile, nil fluxum, nil puerile.
 35 Moribus intentum sacris hunc cura parentum
 Alligat uxori; sic invidet hostis honori
 Virginitatis; ei sperat diadema trophei

Zu vv. 5/6 vgl. Schluss des Prol. *Vita II*: 'Ibi siquidem credimus sanctissimi viri Theoderici annotata merita, cuius succincte conamur et aggredimur pudice litteris infantie commendare primordia.' — Zu vv. 7 ff. vgl. Flod.: 'quem non ex alto voluit adeo sanguine generari, qui sublimiter hunc in generatione iustorum decreverat nobilitare. Ortus autem pago Remensi, villa ut traditur Alamannorum-corte, patre latrone, veluti rosa spinarum procreatur horrore (v. 11 Ceu rosa florescit).' — *Vita II*: 'Patre itaque Marcardo et pago Remensi villaque Alamandorum curte oriundus atque secus pedes beatissimi Remigii educatus et adultus quantum in ipso fuit laudem ab hominibus non quesivit, tumoremque mortalis gloriae calcavit.' (vgl. v. 10: 'Omnia calcavit!'). — vv. 12 ff. fast ohne jede Anlehnung an den Wortlaut der Quellen. — Vor v. 23 § = Zeichen Hs. — zu vv. 24 ff. Flod.: 'Ad declarandam vero castitatis eius munditiam, pro infantilium eiusdem cunarum panniculi feruntur abluti, non sordium iactu non alicuius immunditiae puteus inquinamento, licet os eius extunc de more pateat astruitur infici' (ähnl. *Vita II*). Dass die Quelle nachher heilkräftig geworden sei, wird in den anderen Texten nicht erwähnt. —

- Taliter auferre, victum prosternere terre.
 Tristis et invitus compellitur esse maritus.
 40 Sponsa viri sancti se iungi credit amanti
 Carnis naturam, carnis vermes parituram.
 Sed famulus domini sponsam vocat ore senili:
 'Audi, cara comes, fit carni mors tetra fomes,
 Ob corruptelam iustam non sperne querelam,
 45 Compede carnali noli mecum copulari!
 Rerum namque sator est virginitatis amator;
 Hunc sequor, hunc novi, me vita celibe vovi
 Christo servire, quo celica spero subire.
 Si sponsus talis delectat spiritualis.
 50 Consilio leto tu semper virgo maneto!
 Hic tibi sidereis donabit inesse choreis.'
 Coniunx astuta non est ad talia muta,
 Respondet tristis sponso sermonibus istis:
 'Heu, cur te duxi, infelix! cur tibi nupsi,
 55 Qui spernis nuptam iusto tibi federe iunctam?
 Deliras vere, qui despicias ex muliere
 Natorum fieri genitor sponsusque videri.
 Spemor cur a te, generosa nobilitate,
 Que tibi lege pari possum satis assimilari?'
 60 Hec Theodericus ait, integritatis amicus:
 'Utere mortali, que non vis spirituali
 Sponso coniungi nec celi lumine fungi!
 Abscessit iuvenis, domini constrictus habenis;
 Mox Remis properat, quoniam sacris ibi sperat
 65 Susanne monitis, prece consiliisque cupitis
 A merore gravi relevari fame suavi.

Zu vv. 35 ff. Fl: 'Beatus itaque Theodericus ad annos usque pubertatis laudabiliter educatus, iuxta morem propagationis humanae, studio parentum coactus, sponsam coepit habere nomine tenus uxorem, ceu non habiturus' (ganz ähnlich *Vita II*). — Zu v. 42 ff. Fl: 'Alloquitur beatus Theodericus sponsam et ad sponsi celestis hortatus amore perpetuumque pro virginitate pollicetur honorem. Sed sponsa tabescens amore carnalis desiderii spernit salutaria monita sponsi et amaro animo respondit, dum se despectam videt.' (ähnl., nur etwas erweitert, in der *Vita II*, die aber dann mit direkter Rede einen Dialog beginnt, der bei Fl. fehlt.) — v. 43. carnij korr. a. carnis Hs. Ob das *f* in *fomes* nachgetragen ist, lässt sich auf der — sonst vorzüglichen — Photographie nicht erkennen. tetra] tua? — v. 45 vor *noli*] mecum durchstrichen Hs. — v. 47 *vovi*] *novi* L (Photographie deutlich *uovi*). — v. 54 *duxij* t über d. Zeile, *nupsi*] t zugesetzt Hs. von späterer Hand. — Zu v. 58. *Vita II*: 'Cur despicias amantem, quam generositas non degenerat nec alieni domini ulla servitus subiugat? Quis te alienavit, ut connubia respuas, procreare natos execres, pater filiorum vocari non adquiescas?' — zu vv. 61 ff. *Vita II*: 'Tu sponso utere terreno, quoniam mihi sedet animo . . .' — v. 63 *abscessit*, s über der Zeile v. and. Hd. Hs; desgl. *constrictus* Hs. — zu v. 64 Fl.: 'urbem Remensem propere petens' (*Vita II*: 'concite petit'). — Zu vv. 65 ff. Fl.: 'abbatissam quandam caelibis vitae cultricem nomine Susan-

- Prudens matrona, celesti digna corona,
Virgineum cetum rexit pietate quietum,
Virginibus sacris hec virgo ministrat alacris,
70 Virtutis magne vulgatur fama Susanne;
Exemplis miris Susanna micat velut Yris.
Huic, quicquid fecit, Christi servus patefecit,
Plurima conquestus, quibus estuat, edidit estus;
Inquit: 'Ob uxorem cordis confundo decorem;
75 Integritas mentis meritum capit omnipotentis,
Perdere compellor decus hoc, a quo male vellor;
Muneribus latis est gratia virginitatis
Ante deum celebris semper manet absque tenebris.'
Talia dum memorat, virgo cum virgine plorat,
80 Solatur mater virgo sanctum sapienter,
Quem bene consultum, valido munimine fultum,
Remigii sanctis dimisit eum documentis.
Noverat antistes animos sustollere tristes,
Inquit: 'Nate, vaca celestibus et cito placa
85 Sponsam sermone, post mundi gaudia pone!
Es lucraturus, es celi regna daturus
Uxori!' Propere sponsam petit ille docere.
Ut Theoderici suscepit verba pudici,
Mutata mente lacrimatur sponsa repente,
90 Christi sacra sita promisit celibe vita
Semper servare, viciis animum revocare
Et sponsi more pro virginitatis amore
Spondens obscenum veneris non tangere cenum.
Coniunx carnalis fit femina spiritualis;
95 Primum tota caro modo fulget lumine claro,
Nil carnale gerit nec terre lubrica querit,
Amplecti rite cupiens sponsalia vite.
Gaudet eo multum sanctus, dum sumere cultum
Uxorem cernit divinum, que mala spernit.
100 Remensi quippe mons haud procul extat ab urbe,
Qui licet incultus, decor huic tamen arbore multus,
Silvula pulcra satis, vernantibus undique pratis.
Vena fluit fontis ditissima culmine montis;
Or appellatur, quasi mons, in quo tumulatur

nam requirit (ähnl. *Vita II*) . . . puellari preerat congregationi . . . — Zu vv. 79 ff. Fl.: 'fienti compatitur, lugentem consolatur (wörtlich auch *Vita II*). — vv. 74 ff. bei dieser und der folgenden Begegnung hat keine der übrigen Quellen direkte Reden. — v. 84. est cito L, in Kommata eingeschlossen; auch sonst ist bei L die Interpunktion nicht ganz durchsichtig. — Zu v. 88 ff. Fl: 'acquiescit sponsa demum, prudentissimi patris immo complectitur affamina, vitae celestis dulcedine emellita seseque pollicetur, si Christo mereatur adhaerere, incorruptam salva pudicitia permanere' (fast wörtl. *Vita II*) — v. 93 obscenum Hs. Zu vv. 100 ff. Fl.: 'Est silvula in monte sita [ohne Namen!] tribus a civitate milibus separata' (*Vita II*: cui vocabulum est Or; sonst ähnl.). v. 100 hau, t über der Zeile v. sp. Hd. Hs.; exstat Hs. —

- 105 Aaron, vir tantus in lege per omnia sanctus.
 Sanctorum cetum disponit habere quietum
 Remigius montem, nullo discrimine sontem;
 Est aptus monachis sectantibus agmina pacis
 Hic locus illustris, pecudum vacuus, quia lustris.
- 110 Huc Theodericus cum virgine virgo pudicus
 Accelerat lete sic presule precipiente.
-

Hiermit schliesst das Fragment. In den übrigen Quellen folgt überall die Erscheinung des Engels in Gestalt eines Adlers.

Zu vv. 110 ff. *Vita II*: 'Ad hunc ergo locum mittitur providendum pastor futurus cum sancta virgine Susanna beatus Theodoricus, abstinens cum abstinente, virgo cum virgine' (die letzte Wendung auch v. 79!). Mit der *virgo* dürfte die *sponsa* gemeint sein, nicht die Susanna, wie die *Vita II* u. Fl. angibt. — Zu vv. 104 ff. vgl. die Vorbemerkung! —

Der auf dem Blatt vorausgehende Schluss der *Vita metrica S. Theodulfi* dürfte ebenfalls unbekannt sein; jedenfalls verzeichnet auch der Suppl. Band der *Bibl. hagiogr. lat.* keine metrische *Vita* des Heiligen. Das darin berichtete Wunder liest man weder bei Flodoardus noch in der *Vita* und den *Miracula* der *Acta SS.* Mai 3, S. 96 ff. Die Verstechnik ist, soweit sich das bei dem kurzen Bruchstück (22 vv.) sagen lässt, ungefähr die gleiche wie in der *Vita S. Theoderici*; die unreinen Reime sind hier zwar zahlreicher (11 von 22 gegen 14 von 111 der *Vita S. Theoderici*), aber die zweiten Silben assonieren auch hier; besonderen Hinweis verdient die gleiche Behandlung des Wortes *tëter* (*Vita Theodulfi* v. 21 *tëtro*, *Vita Theoderici* v. 13 *tëtra*). Es liegt nahe, für beide den gleichen Verfasser anzunehmen, der vermutlich dem Kloster auf dem Mont d'Or angehörte. Die Erwähnung des Erzbischofs Samson (1140–61) in v. 16 ergibt, dass diese *Vita* erst in der 2. Hälfte des 12. Jhds. abgefasst ist. Ich lasse die erhaltenen Verse der *Vita* folgen, wenn auch der in dem Fragment geschilderte Vorgang nicht völlig klar ist, da der grössere Teil der Erzählung zu fehlen scheint. Vielleicht bringt der Zufall einmal weitere Blätter der interessanten Handschrift ans Licht.

-
- 5 Christe, velis miseri bene, rex clemens, misereri!
 Flagris parce, queso! prebe medicamina leso!
 Tu donare vales medicinas spirituales;
 Servus ero gratus monachorum morte levatus.
 Sic sic lugentem misere veniamque precantem
 Mox pietas Christi levat hunc a verbere tristi.
 O quam devote, dum fungitur ille salute,
 Nos adiit plorans, veniam miserabilis orans.
 Christi natalis erat ipse dies specialis,

- 10 Festo sollempni coram populo venit omni.
 Abbatis pedibus lacrimans provolvitur huius
 Ecclesie, stringit vestigia, basia fingit;
 Post pedibus nudis gressus petit ipse prioris,
 Fratri Gualtero curvatur poplite flexo,
- 15 Expers pannorum stans in medio monachorum.
 Presule Sansone nobiscum festa colente,
 Illo presente persolvit rapta repente.
 Insuper ecclesie se servum contulit ille,
 Federe placavit nos tali, post remeavit.
- 20 Ob laudem Domini factum miserabile scripsi;
 Qui me dente tetro lacerant pro paupere metro,
 Racha cum fatue letale minatur eis ve!

Explicit feliciter vita Sancti Theodulfi.

V. 2 fagris Hs. —

V. 16 ff. von einem Besuch des Erzbischofs Samson v. Reims (de Mauvoisin 1140–1161) ist weder in *Gallia christiana* noch in G. Marlot, Bd. III, 277 ff. die Rede. — V. 22, *Math.* V, 22.

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AN UNRECORDED EPITAPHIUM CEADWALLAE

IN THE second volume of his edition of the *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores* (Rome, 1888), John Bapt. de Rossi included several versions of the *Epitaphium Ceadwallae Regis Saxonum*.¹ He, to use his own words, gave also a *sincera lectio* of that *Epitaphium*, which he edited ' . . . post recensita eius <i.e. Epitaphii> exemplaria vetera e syllogis epigraphicis et anthologiis. . . .'² The following note of de Rossi must be quoted here (*op. cit.*, II, 70): 'Epitaphium Ceadwallae regis, positum in basilica Vaticana a. 689, unus ad hunc diem Beda integrum cum subiectis temporum notis tradiderat in *Hist. Ecc.* v. 7: carmen sine temporum notis ex Beda repetivit Paulus Diaconus, *De Gestis Langob.* vi, 15.

The text of the *temporum notae*, referred to above, runs as follows:³

HIC DEPOSITVS EST CEADVAL QVI ET PETRVS REX SAXONVM SVB DIE XII KL. MAI-
ARVM INDICT. II VIXIT ANNOS PLM XXX IMPERANTE DN IVSTINIANO PISSIMO AVG
ANNO EIVS CONSVLATVS IIII PONTIFICANTE APOSTOLICO VIRO DOMNO SERGIO PP ANNO
II.

While collating various MSS of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, I noticed in the MS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Fonds Latin 6040*, on the last folio (59^v)⁴ another *Epitaphium Ceadwallae*, which was unknown to de Rossi. It might not be amiss to give a transcript of it:

Epitaphium Cedualli regis Anglorum in ecclesia sancti Petri in Roma.
(C) Ulmen opes sobolem pollentia regna triumphos
Exuvias proceres moenia castra Lares
Quaeque patrum virtus et quae congesserat ipse
Ceadwal armipotens liquit amore Dei
Ut Petrum sedemque Petri rex cerneret hospes 5
Cuius fonte meras sumeret almus aquas
Splendiferumque iubar radianti carperet haustu
Ex quo mirificus fulgor ubique fluit
Perspicuensque alacer recidivae praemia vitae
Barbaricam rabiem nomen et inde suum 10

¹ See II, 60, 70, 111, 112, 267, 287; for other more recent *sincerae lectiones*, see F. Bücheler and E. Riese, *Anthologia Latina* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1887), II, 2, 660-661, and E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925), I, 14-15.

² II, 228.

³ I quote from de Rossi's *recensio*.

⁴ The Catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale limits itself to the following statement (*Pars Tertia, Tomus Quartus*, p. 195): 'Is codex saeculo decimo quarto exaratus videtur.' A careful examination, however, of this MS. convinced me that Rev. Acton Griscom is justified in assigning it to the twelfth century. See Acton Griscom, *Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, (New York: Longmans Green, 1929), pp. 564, 573. Griscom's statement, however (p. 564), that in this MS. ' . . . pages are lacking betw. ff. 24 and 25, the end of Book IV and almost all of Book V,' requires a correction. This MS. is merely badly bound.

Conversus convertit ovans Petrumque vocari	
Sergius antistes iussit ut ipse pater	
Fonte renascentis quem Christi gratia purgans	
Protinus albatum vexit in arce poli	
Mira fides regis clementia maxima Christi	15
Cuius consilium nullus adire potest	
Hospes enim veniens subpremo ex orbe Britanni	
Per varias gentes per freta perque vias	
Urbem Romuleam vidit templumque verendum	
Aspexit Petri mistica dona gerens	20
Candidus inter oves Christi sotiabilis ivit	
Corpore nam tumulum mente superna tenet	
Commutasse magis sceptrorum insignia credas	
Quem regnum Christi promeruisse vides	
Quem regnum Christi promeruisse vides	25
Omnium inimicorum suorum dominabitur.	

In margine manu non prima: de quo <Ceadwala rege> supra scribitur in penultima columpna in fine (i.e. Fol 59^r supradicti MS. 6040) = Galfredus Monemutensis, *Historia Regum Britanniae* xii, 17-18. || I. Litt. in. suppl. ex recensione de Rossi. || 3-4. Inter hos versus vestigium versus alius videri potest, manu non prima scripti, radendo ita deleti, ut legi non possit. || 13. quem] quem MS. || 17. Hospes] superscr. vel Sospes, manu prima. De Rossi legit Sospes, Baedam, ut videtur, secutus, alii Hospes. || 24. Quem] Quem MS. 25-26. Hi versus alia manu scripti sunt.

The last two lines, inasmuch as they are written in different ink and in different handwriting, do not need to be considered here, especially since .25 is a repetition of .24, and .26 is not metrical. This *carmen*, however, contains three readings, which are not found anywhere else. They are: *Splendiferumque* (.7); *mirificus* (.8) and *ivit* (.21). It is further seen that the text as given here, lacks the *temporum notae*; it is therefore a *carmen sine temporum notis*.

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REVIEWS

M. ASIN PALACIOS, trans., *Algazel's El Justo Medio en la Creencia*. Valencia: Instituto de Don Juan, 1929. Paper. Pp. 555.

FATHER ASIN, who is one of the most renowned Arabian scholars in the world, has contributed greatly to the vulgarization of Arabic studies and has shown keen discernment in his investigations of original Arabian texts. Were we to present a bibliography of the principal works of Father Asin, and were we to add that this learned professor of the Universidad Central of Madrid is the teacher and guiding light of almost all the contemporary Arabian scholars in Spain, a faint idea might be given of his extraordinary ability. His translation of two years ago, *The Dogmatic Theology of Algazel*, which was published with the generous help of the great *Hispanista*, Mr Huntington, has filled a sorely-felt need in the history of scholastic theology and philosophy. Up till that time, as Father Asin himself affirms in the introduction to his translation, the history of scholastic theology still remained unexplored. As a matter of fact, up until two years ago it was generally believed that by studying the sources of scholastic philosophy it would be possible to clear up the origins of theology. Both studies, it was thought, had the same metaphysical foundations. But today, the historian of dogmatic theology can hardly satisfy himself with such a solution. There are certain very important points in the history of scholastic theology that should be cleared up, for example, the breach, or better, the loss, of continuity in the dogmatic-theological culture between the eleventh century, that is to say, from Abelard, St Anselm, and Peter Lombard, to the thirteenth century, the glorious epoch of Scholasticism, which boasts of such men as Albertus Magnus, St Thomas and Duns Scotus.

According to Father Asin, this sudden progress of dogmatic theology in the thirteenth century might be attributed not only to the merely philosophical works of the Mussulmen, but also to some strictly dogmatic treatises of these same people. It was in 1904 that Father Asin first voiced this opinion in his treatise *El Averroismo de Santo Tomas de Aquino* and he tried to demonstrate that Averroes in one of his shorter works wished to harmonize reason and faith by means of a synthetic study which was to be strictly theological. This doctrine of Averroes was adopted by Raymond Martin, a scholastic and orientalist, colleague of the Angelic Doctor. The method which Averroes used in his demonstration is identical with that employed by St Thomas. Likewise, the topics presented, namely, the Existence and Unity of God, the Divine Attributes, etc., are the same in both authors. Even to the theological difficulties, the Simplicity of the Divine Essence and the Multiplicity of its Attributes, the Divine Presence and

Premotion and Free Will, the Absolute Unity of the Divine Wisdom and the Multiplicity of Created Objects . . . all these difficulties are both proposed and solved in similar form.

To prove this hypothesis, it is an absolute necessity that a comparative study be made in the scholastic dogmatic theology of the thirteenth century, especially the theology of St Thomas and Duns Scotus, and the dogmatic theology of some Mussulmen who, like Averroes and others, wrote dogmatic treatises. And that is the reason why Father Asin now offers us a Spanish translation, with valuable notes, of the *Compendium* or *Summula* of the dogmatic theology of Algazel under the title *Ictisad o el Justo Medio en la Creencia*. Algazel is, without doubt, the greatest of the Mussulmen theologians and has rendered incalculable services to theological science, important among which is his systematizing of the dogma and moral of Islam. In this systematization, his criterion is so impartial that his work might be termed the Syllabus of Arabian Orthodoxy. The importance of this work is based on the fact that Algazel, always following the middle path between the various Arabian theological schools, some of which are guilty of radical extremism, gives us to understand the general points of the Arabian dogmatic belief. The criterion which Algazel uses is that of the *axaries* school which always had as its norm the harmonization of the Islamic dogmas with the principles of philosophy, avoiding on all occasions the abuse of the perapetetic rationalists (*falasifa*) and the excess of the traditionalists (*Haxuies*), who followed a too literal interpretation of the texts. That St Thomas was acquainted with this school of the *axaries* to which Algazel belonged is perfectly clear from the various citations that the Angelic Doctor makes of the opinions of that school, cf. *Summa* c. g. I. III. c.65. ad finem.

The *Ictisad* is, therefore, of prime importance for a complete knowledge of the history of dogmatic theology. And this translation of the learned Arabian scholar, Father Asin, together with the translation and commentary of the *Fixal* of Abebhamam to which he is now putting the finishing touches, will go a long way in clearing up the important question of the Arabian influence in the scholastic theology of the Middle Ages.

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OSCAR CARGHILL, *Drama and Liturgy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. ix+151. \$2.50.

NO TYPE of mediaeval literature has been the subject of more critical and comprehensive study during the past thirty years than the religious drama of Western Europe. Concerning its ultimate origin and its historical con-

tinuity there has been practically unanimous agreement among scholars in this field. The liturgy of the Church is its generally accepted source and inspiration.¹ Because of that fact, a study which runs counter to this view at once challenges our interest and claims our attention. Especially is this true when, as in the present case, the author issues his challenge with the following introductory and concluding statements:

'The purpose of this study is to direct attention to the inadequacy of the so-called 'liturgical theory' to account completely for the origin of the mystery plays.' (p. 1).

'That there is any generic connection between the drama and the liturgy has been most strenuously denied. The mystery plays apparently did not originate in the Easter ritual; the seed of the drama was not the St Gall *Quem Quaeritis trope*.' (p. 140)

An expansion of these statements to include the thesis of each chapter epitomizes in sequence the gist of the book: The tropes are lyrical; the religious rites and ceremonies are undramatic; the tropes and religious ceremonies hence could not be the basis for drama. Minstrels and not churchmen were the creators of religious drama. Cyclic mystery plays did not develop from the liturgy. M. Sepet in 1867 presented in *Les Prophètes du Christ* a theory of the evolution of drama from liturgy to cycles that has since been followed and that 'has not been examined critically from that day to this.' There is no connection, Dr Carghill continues, between the *Jeu d'Adam*, which he thinks concerns itself in part with prophets of the judgment day, and the earlier religious drama. The evidence tends to show that the Towneley cycle is not the result of a development and that the plays are the work of a single compiler, who, according to Dr Carghill, may very likely have been Gilbert Pilkington. Finally, he concludes, the religious plays in their origin 'were the work of professional entertainers of the day, the minstrels, who were hired by the monks to entertain, to instruct, and to draw to the shrines the populace.' And 'no contention has been raised that in later times the playwrights did not occasionally go to the liturgy, as they may have gone to any other easily available source, to borrow a word, a phrase, or a theme.'

Since Dr Carghill limits his exposition of the 'liturgical theory' to his chapter (V) on Sepet (1867), and a passage from Brooke's *Tudor Drama* (p. 2), and since he dismisses the vast body of later studies as 'work on the details that has been done by eminent scholars,' attention must be directed at once to some of at least the most significant 'work on details.' Though Dr Carghill's *Drama and Liturgy* purports to be a study of mediaeval religious drama from the point of view of its origin and its complete cyclic product,

¹ For a recent brief exposition of the generally accepted origin of the Easter play, the earliest religious drama, see Karl Young, 'The Home of the Easter Play,' *SPECULUM*, I, 71-73.

he fails even to mention such recognized scholars in this field as Heinrich Anz, Wilhelm Meyer, John M. Manly, Karl Young, Neil C. Brooks, or Hardin Craig.¹ For the purposes of his study all contributions from the time of Milchsack and Lange to that of the latest doctoral dissertation on mediaeval religious drama is of no consequence. In fact, he states at the out-

¹ Though he makes fugitive reference to a number of studies, the following are some relevant contributions not mentioned: P. S. Allen, 'The Mediaeval Mimus,' *MP.*, vii (1910), 329-344; *ibid.*, viii (1910), 17-60; cf. P. S. Allen and H. M. Jones, *The Romanesque Lyric* (Chapel Hill, 1928), chapter xiii, 'Romanesque Mimes, Monks, and Minstrels'; H. Anz, *Die lateinischen Magierspiele* (Leipzig, 1905); H. Brinkmann, *Zum Ursprung des liturgischen Spieles* (Bonn, 1929); N. C. Brooks, 'The Lamentation of Mary in the Frankfort Group of Passion Plays,' *JEGP.*, iii (1900-01), 415-430; 'Neue lateinische Osterfeiern,' *Ztfda.*, I (1908), 287-312; 'Some new Texts of Liturgical Easter Plays,' *JEGP.*, viii (1909), 463-488; 'Liturgical Easter Plays from Rhinain Manuscripts,' *JEGP.*, x (1911), 191-196; 'Osterfeiern aus Bamberger und Wolfbüttler Handschriften,' *Ztfda.*, lv (1914), 52-61; N. C. Brooks, *The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy*, Univ. of Ill. Studies in Lang. and Lit., vii, No. 2 (1921); 'Eine Liturgisch-Dramatische Himmelfahrtsfeier,' *Ztfda.*, lxii (1925), 91-96; 'A Rhinain Easter Play,' *JEGP.*, xxvi, (1927), 226-236; 'The Sepulchrum Christi and its Ceremonies,' *JEGP.*, xxvii (1926), 147-161; F. W. Cady, 'Couplets and Quatrains in the Towneley Mysteries,' *JEGP.*, x, (191), 572-584; 'The Wakefield Group in the Towneley Mysteries,' *ibid.*, xi, (1912), 1-19; 'The Passion Group in Towneley,' *MP.*, x (1913), 587-600; 'Towneley, York, and True-Coventry,' *SP.*, xxvi, (1929), 386-400; Millicent Carey, 'The Wakefield Group in the Towneley Cycle,' *Hesperia*, xi, (1930), 1-254; Grace Clark, 'The Passion Plays and the Gospel of Nicodemus,' *PMLA.*, xliii, (1928), 153-161; G. R. Coffman, 'A Note Concerning the Cult of St Nicholas at Hildesheim,' *Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature* (Chicago, 1923), 269-275; 'A New Approach to Mediaeval Latin Drama,' *MP.*, xxii (1925), 239-271; H. Craig, 'On the Origin of the Old Testament Plays,' *MP.*, x (1913), 473-487; W. A. Craigie, 'The Gospel of Nicodemus and the York Mystery Plays,' *The Furnivall Miscellany* (Oxford, 1901), 52-61; M. H. Dodds, 'The Problem of the Ludus Coventriae,' *MLR.*, ix (1914), 79-90; Frances A. Foster, 'The Northern Passion and the Drama,' in *The Northern Passion*, *EETS.*, OS., No. 147 (1916), Part II, 81-101; Grace Frank, 'Revisions in the English Mystery Plays,' *MP.*, xv (1918), 565-572; 'Vernacular Sources for an Old French Passion Play,' *MLN.*, xxxv (1920), 257-268; 'The Palatine Passion and the Development of the Passion Play,' *PMLA.*, xxviii (1920), 464-483; 'On the Relations between the York and the Towneley Plays,' *PMLA.*, xliiv (1929), 313-319; Adeline Jenney, 'A Further Word on the Origin of the Old Testament Plays,' *MP.*, xliii (1914), 59-64; G. La Piana, *Le Rappresentazioni Sacre nella Letteratura Bizantina* (Grottaferrata, 1912); Marie C. Lyle, 'The Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles—A Rejoinder,' *PMLA.*, xliiv (1929), 319-328; J. M. Manly, 'Literary Forms and a New Theory of the Origin of Species,' *MP.*, iv (1905), 473-487; W. Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana* (Berlin, 1901); G. Milchsack, *Die Oster und Passionspiele* (Wolfenbüttel, 1880); M. J. Rudwin, *A Historical and Bibliographical Survey of the German Religious Drama* (Pittsburgh, 1924), *passim*; A. Schönbach, *Ueber den Marienklagen* (Graz, 1874); J. Schwietering, 'Ueber den liturgischen Ursprung des mittelalterlichen geistlichen Spiels,' *Ztfda.*, lxii (1925), 1-20; E. L. Swenson, *An Inquiry into the Composition and Structure of the Ludus Coventriae*, Univ. of Minn. Studies in Lang. and Lit., No. 1 (1914); G. C. Taylor, 'Relations of Lyric and Drama in Mediaeval England,' *MP.*, iv (1907), 1-38; *ibid.*, v (1907), 605-637; P. Wagner, *Origine et Développement du Chant Liturgique* (Tournai, 1904) (cited by Carghill in translation: *A Handbook of Plainsong*); E. Wechsler, *Die Romanischen Marienklagen* (Halle, 1899);

set that the enthusiastic acceptance of Sepet's theory and its apparent sufficiency have long deterred scholars from a minute examination of its merit. Sepet himself, despite his half-century of numerous studies in mediaeval life and culture, mediaeval literature in general, and mediaeval drama in particular, is cavalierly dismissed as a dilettante.¹ As an illustration of men 'better versed in the Middle Ages' he cites Thomas Warton; and he makes the basis of his study this eighteenth century antiquarian's unsupported and discredited theory of the origin of religious drama through the contamination and influence of the minstrels (Carghill, p. 4).

Dr Carghill's sins of omission call for illustrative comment. If he had taken cognizance of Professor Manly's *Literary Forms* (*cit. supra*), he could not without most damaging restrictions have devoted the entire book in general and chapter v in particular to attacking the theory of the origin and development of mediaeval religious drama as a continuous, undifferentiated 'evolutionary' process. The exposition of this fallacy is the basis of that article. Even more to the point is the fact that the weight of Dr Manly's authority and influence as a teacher of mediaeval drama for over thirty years has been in opposition to the whole outworn theory of evolution as applied to literature. Professor Young's cogent, critical, detailed analyses in brief studies and in monographs should have prevented his falling into such confusion as one finds in chapters II and III between *dramatic observances* or *liturgical dramatic associations* on the one hand and actual *drama* on the other (*cit. supra*. see also Brooks). Nor need he have concerned himself in chapter II with proving that tropes are lyrical. Some of Young's

Karl Young, 'A Contribution to the History of Liturgical Drama at Rouen,' *MP.*, vi (1908), 201-227; 'Some Texts of Liturgical Plays,' *PMLA.*, xxiv (1909), 294-331; *The Harrowing of Hell in Liturgical Drama*, Trans. Wis. Acad. of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, xvi, Part 2 (1909), 889-947; 'Observations on the Origin of the Mediaeval Passion Play,' *PMLA.*, xxv (1910), 309-354; 'Philippe de Mézières' Dramatic Office for the Presentation of the Virgin,' *PMLA.*, xxvi (1911), 181-234; 'A Liturgical Play of Joseph and his Brethren,' *MLN.*, xxvi (1911), 33-37; *Officium Pastorum*, Trans. Wis. Acad. of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, xvii, Part 2 (1912), 299-396; 'La Procession des Trois at Besançon,' *The Romanic Review*, iv (1913), 76-83; 'On the Origin of the Easter Play,' *PMLA.*, xxix (1914), 1-58; 'The Poema Biblicum of Onulphus,' *PMLA.*, xxx (1915), 25-41; 'The Officium Stellae from Bilsen,' in collaboration with G. Cohen, *Romania*, xxiv (1916-17), 357-372; 'A New Version of the Peregrinus,' *PMLA.*, xxxiv (1919), 114-129; *Ordo Rachelis*, Univ. of Wis. Studies in Lang. and Lit., No. 4 (1919); *The Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre*, *ibid.*, No. 10 (1920), 1-130; *Ordo Prophetarum*, Trans. Wis. Acad. of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, xx (1922), 1-82; 'Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play,' *Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature* (Chicago, 1923), 254-268; 'The Home of the Easter Play,' *SPECULUM*, i (1926), 71-86; 'Dramatic Ceremonies of the Feast of the Purification,' *SPECULUM*, v (1930), 97-102.

¹ For brief biography of Marius Sepet (1845-1925) see *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada* (Madrid, 1927), Toma LV, 376. Of his writings there listed, about one-half a column in length, practically all are on mediaeval subjects.

studies are an exposition of this fact; and of the further fact that a few of these antiphonal lyrics by the creative act of individuals became brief operatic dramas. Specifically, if he had recalled Young's *Ordo Prophetarum* (*cit. supra*), he would not have stated that 'in 1867 Sepet produced an explanation that was outwardly so satisfactory that it has not been examined critically from that day to this' (p. 62). There Young throughout eighty-two pages analyzes the Pseudo-Augustinian Sermon in relation to the liturgy and concludes that Sepet's theory as to origins of the Prophet Play is confirmed. Nor would he have devoted several pages trying to prove that a *lectio* from the Pseudo Augustinian Sermon was of the thirteenth century. Young (*Ordo*, p. 4, note 1) finds the same *lectio*, in a Compiègne MS. of the eleventh century, just where Dr Carghill wants it (*Bibl. Nat. MS. latin 16189*). As a closing word to this study, Young calls Sepet's theory as to later expansion and development of these plays outside of the liturgy, *conjecture*. Pursuant upon this, one must mention another oversight of Dr Carghill's. Professor Craig (*cit. supra*), in a study cited by Young in his last footnote to *Ordo*, holds that the Old Testament plays, particularly those derived from the book of Genesis and those relating to the fall of Lucifer and the angels, did not originate from the Prophet play but from the addition to the Passion play of a body of epic and homiletic material derived from the lessons and accompanying ritual of the Church. These lessons and responsories he finds in the Lenten and pre-Lenten season. Miss Adeline Jenney (*cit. supra*) supports Craig's theory by further study of the ritual of Septuagesima and Lent. Wilhelm Meyer (*cit. supra* pp. 53-56) much earlier (1901) in satiric vein had expressed strong disagreement with Sepet relative to the later development of the *Processus Prophetarum*. Further, Professor Allen's able discussion of mimes, monks, and minstrels (*cit. supra*) might well cause Dr Carghill to question the acceptance of the view that the 'minstrel was descended from the *mimus*.' Of immediate pertinence with reference to Carghill's contention in chapter III that 'the tropes were in many cases as closely imitated from the verse of minstrels as caution and the music of the church would permit' is the following:

'I find no surer indication that it is not *mimus* or scop, but monk, to whom we owe the re-creation of realistic art in the ninth and tenth centuries, than that it is just the monks and their work which furnished the bases of the mediaeval renaissance of which we shall hear in a later chapter.'

(*Romanesque Lyric*, p. 266)

On the basis of evidence known to all mediaevalists may we not give over for once and all the idea that monks *per se* guarded and protected the liturgy of the Church; and that literature with secular or pagan elements, *per se*, is not written by monks? or if so written, inspired only by bacchanalian mimes or minstrels?

The limitations of space permit calling attention here to only some of the more obvious matters in detail. On page 13, as proof of the restricted extra-liturgical development he speaks of the comparative scarcity of surviving MSS. of tropes, stating that only 225 of the Easter (*Visitatio*) trope survive. This was the number known in 1887, when Carl Lange published his study, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*. In 1921 Professor Brooks (*cit. supra*) was able to include about 300 for examination. Through the researches of Mr Young, continued over a quarter of a century, there are now available some 416 texts of the *Visitatio*, plus some thirty examples of the *Quem Quaeritis* Introit tropes. 'A rather large survival!' a friend remarked to me recently. On pages 20-21, in an attempt to prove that the St Gall *Quem Quaeritis* trope (St Gall MS. 484; facsimile in Gautier, *Les Tropes*, p. 216) is undramatic, Dr Carghill is in error in two respects. In a word, he is trying to show that the response to the query, 'Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, Christicolae?', was sung by the leader of the choir and was not choral (i.e., did not represent in the singing the three Marys at the tomb). He assumes that the abbreviation *I*̄ means *Introit* and that the *R* preceding 'Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum, O Caelicolae,' means a liturgical responsory and was hence sung as a solo. Now *I*̄ is not *Introit* but *Item*, for one of a series: thus, *I*̄ DE RESUR̄ DN̄I And the *R* is not for the ecclesiastical *responsorium*¹ but is a cue meaning *responsio* (or *respondeant*?). On page 28, Dr Carghill would date the *Visitatio* in the *Regularis Concordia* (ca. 980) after the Conquest on the following grounds: 'But as the rite therein described is concluded by the singing of the *Te Deum Laudamus*, which was apparently not known in England prior to the Conquest, it is highly likely that this rite was inserted by some monk who wished to give it the authority of St Ethelwold.' The source indicated in a footnote as the basis for this most revolutionary suggestion is John Bumpus, *A Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Terms!* On page 35, Dr Carghill speaks of the St Gall Christmas trope. What is his authority for this statement? Young, *Officium Pastorum* (*cit. supra*), p. 300, footnote 1, comments on the absence of this trope from the St Gall *troparia* as *noteworthy*. In chapter iv, to prove the contamination of liturgy, he cites as evidence the *Daniel* of Beauvais and the plays of Hilarius. In this he is correct and to these he might have added the Benediktbeuern plays. But in the *Daniel* of Beauvais we have a school play; in Hilarius, a clear case of a wandering scholar, to which group (*Vaganten*) the Benediktbeuern plays almost surely belong; and all of them are one hundred and fifty years or more beyond the *Visitatio* in its earliest stage. When on page 53 he men-

¹ For illustration of normal manner of singing a *responsory*, a matter in which Carghill is correct, see Young, *Officium Pastorum* (*cit. supra*), 342-344; and for discussion of the place and method of singing the chant see Wagner (*cit. supra*), chapter viii.

tions the Winchester *Sepulchrum* as the only surviving specimen of 'liturgical drama' in England, he has apparently forgotten the Shrewbury Fragments. Again, who still holds that the Chester Resurrection play, or any of the plays in the vernacular cycles, is derived *directly* from liturgical drama? On page 98, in attempting to convict Sepet of making an 'inexplicable blunder,' he calls the prophets at the close of *Le Mystère d'Adam*, prophets of doom or judgment and not of the coming of Christ. But Paul Studer in his introduction to this play (1918), pp. xix and xxxi, emphasizes that *Adam* is incomplete and that 'either deliberately or through an oversight, a copyist has inserted immediately after it the *Dit des quinze signes du jugement*, which has been shown to belong to another work and is written in another dialect.'

The present reviewer is quoted once (p. 64); then as an illustration of a typical evolutionist: 'There have been extremists, evolutionists *par excellence*; these latter are too numerous to call by roll, hence we shall have to be satisfied with example . . . Finally, Professor G. R. Coffman, implicitly accepting the growth theory for the mysteries, seeks and finds (so he thinks) a liturgy from which the miracle plays likewise grew (*A New Theory Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play, passim*).' Now this happens to be probably the most unfortunate illustration he could have selected for his purpose. In the first place, the preface to this study expresses the belief that circumstances and conditions of the eleventh century explain the origin of the miracle play, not only as to its type but also as to its form and spirit (cf. also, *A New Approach to Mediaeval Latin Drama [cit. supra], passim*). In the second place, a section of chapter II is devoted to an analysis and rejection of the theory of evolution as applied to the miracle play. In the third place, the saints' play is projected against the cultural background of the eleventh century. And finally — here the irony — there is advanced as a theory for the possible origin of the miracle play that of the contamination of the liturgy of St Nicholas' feast day by humanistic monks (*op. cit.*, p. 51ff. For article in refutation of this theory see Young, *Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play, cit. supra.*) To point a moral here, the reviewer is convinced that in literary matters, when we substitute wherever possible for 'growth,' 'evolution,' and allied biological terms, such words or phrases as 'individual creation,' 'imitation,' 'adaptation,' 'literary fashion or convention,' and 'literary tradition,' we shall gain immeasurably in critical soundness and in clarity. Literature is not an organic growth nor something to be biologically propagated. It is an artistic product of individual minds; and its increase or decline in volume and variety is best characterized by the terms suggested above. Such a terminology would suggest at once the fallacy of applying the term 'evolution' to the Towneley cycle (chapter VII) but would indicate a logical reason for connecting the plays with a literary tradition.

Though it would leave a place for the individual author in the Towneley cycle, Dr Carghill must remove the strictures imposed by Miss Foster ['Was Gilbert Pilkington the Author of the *Secunda Pastorum*,' *PMLA*, XLIII (1928), 124-136] before we can accept Gilbert Pilkington, as he desires. It is this indisputable literary tradition which renders impossible the naïve theory of creation and compilation for English vernacular plays, formulated by Dr Carghill (chapters IV and VII).

In final estimate, then, one is forced to observe that this book ignores the great body of recognized work already done in this field and that its main conclusions rest on discredited or unsupported conjectures. Furthermore, it is based on the following unjustified assumptions: (1) that there has been no critical examination of Sepet's theory; (2) that this theory is still accepted *in toto* as formulated by him; (3) that minstrels descended from the mimes and that monks of their own initiative wrote only uncontaminated devotional literature; (4) and that there is no essential historical continuity through the centuries for mediaeval religious drama, both Latin and vernacular. To put the case directly, this study does not justify itself either constructively or destructively.

Large tasks suggested by this book are a study of mediaeval music in relation to the origin and the early stages of religious drama, a comprehensive consideration of the place of secular influences in the shaping of mediaeval religious drama, and a further consideration of Byzantine and other Oriental influences.

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OLGA DOBIACHE-ROJDESTVENSKY, *Les Poésies des Goliards, Groupées et Traduites avec le Texte Latin en Regard. (Les Textes du Christianisme IX)* Paris: Les Editions Rieder, 1931. Paper. pp. 272.

THIS volume, besides providing a convenient anthology of texts and translations from the secular Latin poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, presents a scholarly résumé of knowledge in a field which has, since its first exploration by Mone, Wright, Dumeril, and Grimm, proved increasingly attractive to the student of mediaeval life and letters. The author has not limited her view to poems which are ascribed in manuscripts to the mythical Philistine Archbishop Goliard or to those which actually embody the Goliardic idea. She rather follows the tradition, now well established, of grouping together as the products of a common inspiration, a wide variety of verse — satiric, bacchanalian, or erotic — written in non-classical Latin measures and circulated throughout Europe by academic and ecclesiastical wanderers of every sort. Save for an abundance of fragmentary quotation,

only thirty-one poems are included and not all of these in complete form. Yet the range of the literature is well represented. The texts are grouped under the following headings: *Le Pape et la Cour de Rome*; *L'Evêque*; *Le Curé*; *Le Moine*; *Le Monde Chrétien*; *L'Ecole et la Vie*; *La Nature et L'Amour*. From the standpoint of purely poetic interest a disproportionate amount of space is given to anti-ecclesiastical satire. Except for the memorable *Confessio Goliae* and the vagabond narratives of Hugo of Orleans, the most precious expressions of the school are the anonymous lyrics, and anthologies like those of Symonds and Waddell convey a better idea of what deserves to survive than this more historically balanced collection.

By way of compensation, the present work gives in condensed yet readable form a really scientific account of the facts regarding this branch of mediaeval literature, together with abundant guidance to those who wish to carry the study into detail. The origin and exact significance of the terms *Golias*, *Goliard*, are correctly stated. The part played in the movement by known individuals is presented in a clear and well-documented discussion. There is, in addition to the data given in connection with the individual texts, a valuable list of Goliardic manuscripts and a chronologically arranged bibliography (the best now available) of special studies on the subject. The introductions to the several groups of poems treat very briefly of the relevant aspects of mediaeval society. Mme Dobiache-Rojdestvensky is inclined to discount the importance of the Goliardic poems as historical sources — a point of view for which she is commended in the notice prefixed to the volume by Ferdinand Lot.

The concluding chapter emphasizes the fact that Goliardic literature, while it is an authentic expression of irresponsible and vagabonding academic youth, was initiated and largely maintained by poets of high distinction, by famous masters rather than obscure scholars. It represents a pagan reaction against the dominance of ascetic ideals — a reaction which set in naturally and inevitably when once the mediaeval mind had embarked with Abelard on untravelled courses of speculation. Flourishing unchecked in the atmosphere of relative freedom characteristic of the academic and ecclesiastical world in the century following the death of the beloved master, the Goliardic spirit fell a martyr to the intolerance and repression of a later epoch. University life, disorganized and irregular, but vitalized by enthusiastic discipleship, became by the end of the thirteenth century cold and regimented. The wayward elements in the learned rabble were looked on with severer eyes; the more sober could no longer indulge in a relaxed geniality. The family of *Golias* accordingly became a sect, proscribed in the councils of the church, and abandoned by the genius which had once illumined it.

This generalization is interesting and may be sound. In considering, how-

ever, the decline of secular Latin writing in accentual meters, we may well ask how far it was due simply to the rise of a corresponding poetry in the vernacular. The looser satirical and lyric verse in the national literatures of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries must often have been written by individuals of a type identical with the older Goliards. It certainly inherits their traditions and is addressed to the similar interests. François Villon is mentioned by Lot as 'le dernier des Goliards, le plus grand de tous, le seul grand.' But the Scottish Dunbar and the English Skelton are also in a sense Goliards, and there is no need, despite the unquestionable social changes, of assuming any real break in the tradition of learned minstrelsy from the twelfth century to the sixteenth.

A word may be added regarding the French translations. They are line for line renderings in rather literal prose. The difficulties in some of the originals make such interpretations very useful. An exceptional literary sally is to be found in the French version of the lines from the *Confessio*:

'Si ponas Hippolytum hodie Papiae,
non erit Hippolytus in sequenti die:
Veneris in thalamos ducunt omnes viae,
non est in tot turribus turris Alethiae.'

The translation reads, with allusion to the *Phèdre*, 'Parmi tant de tours, pas une pour Aricie.' The alteration of the stock expression 'tower of truth' is unwarranted, and it obscures the reminiscence of Theodulus, whose *Ecloga* contributed the names Pseustis and Alethia to the mediaeval pantheon of allegory.

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G. K. LOUKOMSKI, *Kiev, Ville Sainte de Russie*. Paris: J. Danguin, 1929. Paper. Pp. xv+119. Frs. 225.

APART from the unfortunate fact that there is no satisfactory manual of the subject in English, the study of Russian architecture and iconography has been singularly facilitated and encouraged by the existence of such complete basic works as Tolstoi-Kondakov's *Russian Antiquities* and the more recent and luxurious *History of Russian Art* prepared under the supervision of Igor Grabar. Scholars desirous of making known the essential elements of early Russian artistic development have thus seldom been obliged to pass outside the limits set by these authoritative sources. Such studies as L. Réau's *L'Art Russe des Origines à Pierre le Grand* (Paris, 1921) and, more recently, V. Nikolski's *Istoriya Russkovo Iskusstva* (Berlin, 1923) accordingly follow in large measure the path thus traced. Mr. Loukomski's monograph, however, occupies a somewhat exceptional position, in view of the recognized architectural competence of the author and his experience after

the Revolution as Chairman of the Committee entrusted with the detailed examination of the architectural monuments in Kiev. The author is not less qualified as a student than as an artist; in addition to a large number of photographs, Mr Loukovski has enhanced the artistic merit of his treatise by including reproductions of a series of his own aquarelles and sketches which ably reflect the characteristic charm of Ukrainian baroque. The monograph is introduced by a suggestive preface from the pen of Professor Diehl.

The early artistic life of Kiev under Christian inspiration was not a long one. The first missionaries to Kiev appear to have been sent by Photius after the Varangian raid upon Constantinople in 860. It is by no means clear, however, to what extent Christianity penetrated Kiev at this early date. In any case, the first church mentioned by the sources as existing in Kiev is that of St Elias, of which the location is unknown. This church is noted in the *Primary Chronicle* under 945 in a passage which would seem to indicate that the faith was first introduced by Varangians who had come into contact with it in Constantinople. The Princess Olga, herself of Scandinavian extraction, whose domestic priest is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De Caer.* II, 15; ed. Bonn, p. 598) on the occasion of her visit to the Greek capital in 957, was accordingly subject to Christian influences at home before her official conversion under Greek auspices. Yet the meeting-places of the Christian minority in Kiev before Vladimir's day must have been but humble chapels. The first ambitious churchly edifice constructed by Vladimir himself was that dedicated to the Virgin of the Tithe (*Desyatinnaya*), begun in 989 and finished ca. 995. He likewise constructed a church dedicated to St Basil of which the exact location is uncertain. It is unlikely, however, that either of these churches long preserved its original aspect in view of the destruction of the churches in Kiev during the conflagration of 1017. In fact, the chief monument among the churches of Kiev and (despite its baroque accessories) one of the greatest archaeological treasures in all Russia is the Cathedral of St Sophia, begun by Yaroslav in 1017 along with other ecclesiastical edifices of which only fragments survive. Mr Loukovski rightly stresses the evidence that St Sophia was started in 1017 and not in 1037, as stated in the *Primary Chronicle*; the disastrous fire of the former year was doubtless a motive in its conception. The two other most noteworthy mediaeval churches in Kiev are the Cathedral of St Michael, founded in 1108, and the Church of St Cyril, dating from 1139. The latter is the only mediaeval church in the city not disfigured by later architectural appendages. For example, the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin in the Crypt Monastery, though dating from 1089, has been so frequently rebuilt and enlarged as to possess practically no mediaeval features whatever. The whole city was eventually laid waste by the Tatars in 1240, and work of re-

construction on the orthodox churches was not undertaken until the early sixteenth century. Direct artistic contact with Constantinople and the Near East thus lasted somewhat less than four hundred years.

After an extremely superficial introductory chapter on the historical rôle of Kiev, Mr Loukomski takes up the origins of South Russian ecclesiastical architecture, appropriately dwelling on the evidences of Armenian and Georgian influence upon early Ukrainian construction in the light of the researches of Strzygowski, Diehl, Schmidt, and Milyeyev. This influence was, in all likelihood, transmitted less through Byzantium than through Tmutorakan, the flourishing Russian outpost on the strait of Kerch. One of the chief evidences of Caucasian influence is the similarity of the floor plan of St Sophia in Kiev to that of the church at Mokvi, in Abkhazia, while the method of foundation construction in the case of the *Desyatinnaya* is more Caucasian than Byzantine. Indeed, the measurements of various early Kievan churches undertaken in 1918-1919 by Mr Loukomski and various collaborators confirm the thesis that the eleventh and twelfth century churches of Southern Russia are not exclusively the product of Byzantine influence, despite certain coincidences in plan, detail, and masonry. A further departure from Byzantine practice is the simultaneous use in St Sophia of both mosaic and fresco and a marked independence as well in choice of subjects as in the artistic interpretation of the Liturgy not only in this cathedral but in other churches of the period. Mr Loukomski's analysis of the mural decorations in St Sophia, while not as complete as that supplied by Tolstoi-Kondakov (I, 116 ff.), is notwithstanding the best description now available to students unacquainted with Russian. Unfortunately, the author makes no detailed mention of the unique Byzantine frescoes of hunting and hippodrome scenes which adorn the walls of the staircases of St Sophia (Tolstoi-Kondakov I, 147-169).

Among the mediaeval churches of Kiev, apart from St Sophia, Mr Loukomski concentrates his attention on St Michael's and St Cyril's, but without describing the important mosaic of the Eucharist in the former. His discussion of the frescoes in St Cyril's is, on the other hand, of special value, since it supplements the cursory treatment in Tolstoi-Kondakov (I, 163-166) and Réau (p. 109). In view of their richness and diversity of subject-matter, as well as of the wall and arch space covered, these frescoes possess considerable artistic and historical interest.

Mr Loukomski's concluding chapters on Ukrainian art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though falling outside the limits of our chronological interest, deserve mention as an appreciative and accurate treatment of this relatively unfamiliar phase of Eastern European art. The photographs, water-colors, and sketches in this section of the book are of particular merit.

Apart from a trifling number of textual inaccuracies which are of comparatively slight importance to art students, I note one error in location: the beautiful church of the Virgin Intercessor, one of the greatest creations of Russian artistic genius, built by Andrei Bogolyubski in 1165, is situated, not 'à Nerli,' but at the confluence of the river Nerl with the Klyazma a short distance east of Vladimir. Mr Loukomski's book is a credit alike to author and publisher, and a precious acquisition for any lover of Russian art.

SAMUEL H. CROSS,
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AMATO MASNOVO, *Da Guglielmo d'Auvergne a San Tomaso d'Aquino*. Vol. I. *Guglielmo d'Auvergne e l'Ascesa verso Dio*. Milano: Università Cattolica, 1930. Pp. viii+283.

DR MASNOVO states in the preface of this book: 'Modern historiography of the Middle Ages has taken little pains to describe fully the lively contrasts of doctrines and their successive developments.' To fill this gap, he set himself 'to put in due relief these contrasts and this process of development of doctrines from the time of William of Auvergne to Thomas Aquinas.' To trace the history of this development which covers the first seventy years of the thirteenth century and in which we meet the greatest mediaeval philosophers, 'the usual monographic method is unsuitable'; for convenience, however, the author has set his study, which is essentially comparative, upon a monographic framework that supplies the needed historical background.

The central figure of this first volume, soon to be followed by others, is William of Auvergne, the learned and witty bishop of Paris (1228-1249), 'who loved epigrams and good wine without ceasing to be a God-fearing man and without ever abdicating his right to think with his own head.' He seems to have been more responsible than the Papal Legate for the failure to pacify the students of Paris after the famous riots of 1229, and for their consequent strike and emigration to other 'studia.' It also seems that William's anti-Aristotelian convictions had something to do with the policy adopted by him on that occasion, as well as in the appointment of Roland of Cremona, the first Dominican friar to hold a chair in the university, which took place during the exodus of the students. On this point, however, Masново's assumption seems to be wrong, for Mandonnet has given the evidence that the appointment took place before that time. The Dominicans in this early period had not yet espoused the cause of Aristotelianism.

Dr Masново's book contains a learned and detailed exposition of William's thinking, especially on the problem of the existence of God, analyzed in his treatise *De Primo Principio* or *De Trinitate*. This survey leads Dr Masново to the conclusion that the judgment passed upon William's teach-

ing on this doctrine, as well as on his whole philosophical system, by various scholars who have written monographs and essays on his philosophy, such as Werner, Valois, Guttman, Baumgartner, von Bülow, and Schindele, are inaccurate and require revision. William is usually described as an eclectic thinker lacking consistency; an opponent of Aristotelianism and at the same time borrowing from Aristotle important principles and theories; a follower of the ontologism of Anselm and of extreme realism. On the contrary, according to Dr Masnovo, the presumed accord of William with Aristotle on important points, such as the definition of the soul, is only verbal, apparent, but not real. In spite of a certain similarity in the terminology of William and that of Anselm's *Prologium*, William's argument has nothing in common with the famous 'id quod maius cogitari nequit' of Anselm. No less mistaken is the classification of William as an extreme realist. And as for William's eclecticism, it seems that it has been over-emphasized, that it is much less inconsistent than it is assumed to be, and that from this point of view William of Auvergne fares better if compared, for instance, to Alexander of Hales. Of the two, William is a more original thinker and deserves to be better known. For Alexander, in spite of the glory bestowed upon him by the Franciscans, represents essentially the old philosophical school with all its narrow traditions; while William, notwithstanding his conservatism, was on many points an innovator and a precursor of the following generation of thinkers. The misfortune of D'Auvergne was that he 'caruit iliade.' The Iliad of mediaeval philosophers was usually the work of the religious order to which they belonged. But a poor secular priest, even if he was bishop of Paris, did not have behind him a religious order to sing his praises and did not leave after him any one to provide for his name and his glory.

William of Auvergne was not without influence in the philosophical systematization of Thomas Aquinas. A direct influence of his writings is to be found much later in the works of David Hume who while in France became acquainted with the published treatises of the mediaeval thinker and derived from them some of his 'original views,' though without mentioning his name. Dr Masnovo's analysis of D'Auvergne William's system is on the main convincing. The attentive reader, however, sometimes wonders whether the interpretation of certain rather obscure and involved passages of the text, explained by Dr Masnovo in the light of later philosophical elaborations, rather than at their face value, do not add to William's thought something that is not really there, especially when this thought is paraphrased into modern philosophical terminology. After all, Dr Masnovo does not deny that William's system lacks consistency and his theories show here and there evident contradictions. But notwithstanding some hesitation in accepting all the conclusions of this book, no one can fail to appreciate its

scholarly value. It is undoubtedly one of the most useful contributions to the history of mediaeval philosophy among those published during these last years.

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CHARLES G. OSGOOD, *Boccaccio on Poetry*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xlix+214. \$5.00.

THIS is a superb piece of work. As the sub-title indicates, it contains 'The Preface and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Books of Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium* in an English Version with Introductory Essay and Commentary.' The introduction is illuminatingly erudite; the translation is excellent; the notes are succinct, but amply informative. This work is also timely, considering the present revival of humanistic discussion, and very significant, inasmuch as Boccaccio reveals in those two books in defense of poetry (the first thirteen books concern the actual genealogy), perhaps more than anywhere else, the humanistic trend which, in the mind of this pioneer, was asserting itself over his orthodox, mediaeval background.

Boccaccio reveals, moreover, in his characteristic style, at times most vigorous, at others repetitive and prolix, his own potent personality and his fervent enthusiasm for pagan poetry, for beauty, and for learning. His argumentation is a polemic, full of virulent invective in Book XIV; in Book XV, he starts out in a tone of humble apology, but soon shifts to all-demolishing diatribe. His quarrel is a very important chapter in the quarrel waged at all times by learning and the appreciation of beauty, which are ever in the minority, against ignorance, which is always overwhelming and naturally despises what it cannot understand.

Very wisely Professor Osgood decided, in his translation, in favor of current, not archaic English, excluding, for instance, the use of the second person singular, which is now so awkward. In one place only does he lapse into the 'thou' form (p. 47). His translation is so consistently apt and felicitous, that one hesitates to disagree with him even in a few minor instances. 'Office buildings,' however, presumably for *fori* (p. 32), is too modern and too American. There are no office buildings in Italy today, let alone in Boccaccio's time. 'Gentle' for *nobilis* (p. 44) might be pedantically questioned; *nocturna certamina* means not merely 'at night' (p. 129), but 'nocturnal bouts.' (The salacious flavor is in good Decameron style.)

The typographically perfect book has probably never been published. Cavillous though it may seem, therefore, the conscience of this reviewer forces him to pluck even in this splendid volume the following little slips. In quotations from a foreign language, the syllabication of that language, not the English, should be used. (Printers always make this mistake.)

Hence, not *ver-amente* (p. xlviij, note) but *vera-mente*; not *ration-abilium* (p. 160) but *ratio-nabilium*. The following words appear to be incorrect: *opere volgare* (p. vii) for *opere volgari*; *Arragon* (p. 55) for *Aragon*; *piu* (p. 158) for *più*; *Bulletino* (p. 188) for *Bullettino*; *Mathematiche* (p. 188) for *Matematiche*; *Sulmone* (p. 190) for *Sulmona*. Coluccio's surname is usually given as *Salutati*, not *Salutato* (pp. xliii, xlv, 151, 191, 195); *Giacopo* (p. 51) should be *Jacopo*, which is correctly spelled elsewhere (p. 166). Geographical names might well be modernized, hence not *Brundisium* (pp. 27, 55, 89), but *Brindisi*; not *Luna* (p. 30 — though *Luna* is correct in the note), but *Luni*.

In the notes, there are two tiny typographical inaccuracies: the note to 14.1 is omitted (p. 147); the number to note 6 (p. 188) should be deleted. It is assumed that the commentator intended these notes to be very brief, otherwise several additional echoes of the *Divine Comedy* might have been mentioned, such as a reference to *Purg.* IX, 24 and *Par.* XXIX, 67, — *con-cistoro* and *con-cistorio* for 'consistory' (p. 14), etc. The note on Apelles (p. 155) might possibly have mentioned the fact that, in Boccaccio's time, Lucian's works, which speak of Apelles, had not yet been imported into Italy; the note to Boccaccio as a misogynist (p. 197) might have referred to his famous *Corbaccio*.

Though the bibliography that Professor Osgood made use of is very extensive, one misses two or three works that might prove useful: G. Traversari, *Bibliografia boccacesca*, Città di Castello, 1907, (incidentally, the second volume of this book, though sorely needed, is not likely ever to be compiled); and G. Pansa, *Giovanni Quatrario di Sulmona*, Sulmona, 1912, an invaluable book on early Italian humanism. In it we find, for example, two curious fragments of pertinent information: that (p. 159) Guglielino Maramaldo probably wrote a *Genealogy of the Gods* in imitation of Boccaccio, a book which, unfortunately, is no longer extant, and that (p. 182) it was probably Boccaccio who introduced Pizzinghe (see Osgood, p. 188, last note, and p. 189, note 7) to Quatrario. As to the reference to Vergil's house near Mantua (p. 182, top), has not Professor E. K. Rand recently published a study on the subject?¹ Probably this study came out too recently to be consulted.

It seems all too petty, however, even to call attention to such small items in view of Professor Osgood's magnificent job, to which he brought such a splendidly solid background of mediaeval and modern erudition and such skill in the very difficult fine art of translation. All scholars owe him a vote of gratitude, and all libraries should have this book.

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¹ *In Quest of Vergil's Birthplace* (Cambridge, 1930).

S. HARRISON THOMSON, ed., *Johannis Wyclif Summa de Ente, Libri Primi Tractatus Primus et Secundus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xxxvi+119. \$3.50.

THE first two tractates of the twelve which make up the *Summa de Ente* are presented by Dr Thomson for the first time in print. The first, *De Ente in Communi*, is an important addition to the long sequence of discussions of the relation of the categories of logic to the concepts of metaphysics (to which Books IV, VII, and X of the *Metaphysics* and the innumerable mediaeval treatises *De Ente et Essentia* belong). The second, *De Ente Primo in Communi*, proceeds from the transcendentals to the first being, that is, to the source of truth, goodness, and being, in the manner of mediaeval treatises, common in the Augustinian tradition, on the nature of God. Despite its late place in those sequences, the arguments are handled with economy, understanding, and frequently, great originality.

Dr Thomson presents a carefully edited text which has obviously profited by all the devices of the palaeographer and editor: all variant readings are indicated clearly and the pagination of both manuscripts is given. But for all his care with the materials of editing, he has neglected one means which might have been employed to secure a good text, that is, the content of the work. Frequently his readings, though well-authenticated, make no sense, or the better reading is in the footnote; frequently the reader must conjecturally rearrange punctuation or ignore an incorrect reference to Aristotle. For a philosopher, the text will make very uncomfortable reading.

In many cases, the source of these difficulties is clear enough. Instances of each variety can, therefore, be cited readily, and often the trouble can be indicated. First, a doubt arises concerning the relative reliability of the two manuscripts with which Dr Thomson is working. Manuscript *A* is made the basis of the text; *B* is criticized for its glaring mistakes and frequent omissions, the majority of its variant readings being attributed to carelessness or ignorance on the part of the scribe. Yet the editor's confidence (p. xv) that the footnotes make the inferiority of *B* to *A* 'only too obvious' is not corroborated by examination of the volume. There is evidence of carelessness in *B*, but the errors are rather those of a man who understands what he is copying. On the other hand, this edition offers excellent grounds for the belief of Loserth and Dziewicki that the scribe of *A* did not understand the meaning of the text. In many places where the argument is close or sophistical, Dr Thomson has preferred the reading of *B*; it is easy to enumerate other places where a like course should have been followed. Thus in Tractate II, cap. 2 (p. 72, l. 24-p. 73, l. 4) the text reads,

'Constat enim quod condicionalis et disjunctiva supraposita sunt necessarie et neutra negativa, et e contra, hujusmodi proposiciones sunt formaliter impossibiles.

"Si deus potest esse ipse non potest esse," "tu es asinus" vel "nulla veritas est" et tamen negativa est affirmativa, igitur non solum affirmativa est impossibilis."

Wyclif is arguing against those who hold that only negative propositions are necessary, that affirmative propositions are formally impossible. The text as it stands, however, is nonsense. It is remedied easily by changing the comma after *negativa*, in the second line, to a semicolon, and the period after *impossibles* to a colon, so that *proposiciones* is made to refer to the propositions which follow and not to those mentioned in the first clause (propositions can not be necessary and formally impossible at the same time). Then the statement *negativa est affirmativa* is nonsense; the reading of *B* in the footnote is obviously correct — *neutra est affirmativa* — for Wyclif has answered his opponents by exhibiting, first, two propositions which are necessary, though neither is negative; second, two propositions which are impossible, though neither is affirmative. Moreover, 'tu es asinus' vel 'nulla veritas est' is not two sentences; it is the negative disjunctive proposition, one of the *proposiciones hujusmodi*, and should be punctuated as one sentence. This passage, moreover, sheds some light on an earlier one which is unintelligible as it stands, apparently through no fault of the text. On page 71, Wyclif had purposed to confirm an argument by three considerations. First, by the truth of a conditional proposition; third, by the necessary truth of two negative propositions; but the second reads 'quod signatum primarium hujus distinctive (!) "tu es" vel "tu non es" est absolute necessarium.' Obviously *distinctive* should read *disjunctive*, though there is no note to indicate that either manuscript has that reading. Again, 'tu es' vel 'tu non es' is the disjunctive proposition in question, and it should be punctuated as a single proposition. And if this interpretation needed any textual support, it might be added that one would search in vain otherwise for the *condicionalis et disjunctiva supraposita* referred to on page 72 (l. 25). That, however, is not the end of the confusion of the passage. The first confirmation reads: 'Primo per hoc quod veritas hujus condicionalis. Si septem sunt tria et quattuor summa (!) est eterna . . .' Both manuscripts read *sunt* instead of *summa*; as emended the passage is meaningless. It should read 'Primo per hoc quod veritas hujus condicionalis: "Si septem sunt, tria et quattuor sunt," est eterna . . .' Similarly, the *veritates negative* referred to (p. 71, ll. 27-28) are the two propositions which follow (ll. 28-30); they should be in inverted commas for clarity, particularly since the disjunctive proposition above is so marked off.

These emendations suggested by pages 71-73 are a sample of the uncertainties of the text. To return, however, to the comparison of the readings of *B* with those of *A*, on page 80 (l. 29) the text reads: 'cum genus cause materialis sit melius'; but if one should inquire what the material cause is better than, one would find that it is better than the material cause; more-

over, Wyclif has said that it is useless to seek God among material causes: *materialis* must read (with *B*) *formalis*. Again, on page 81 (ll. 18–19), the text reads: ‘Ex istis patet quod non sit possibile multitudinem esse nisi reducatur ad multitudinem principiantem . . .’ This is meaningless in the Aristotelian philosophy (indeed one would have had to read no more than this very treatise to learn that, since Wyclif says on page 101, lines 17–18: ‘impossibile igitur est totam universitatem sensibilem reduci ad multa principia’). As usual, the reading of *B* — *actum* for *multitudinem* — makes sense, but in this case it seems to be a correction of some one trying to make sense of a meaningless reading. The sentence itself gives a clue to its probable history: it is made up of three clauses of which that quoted is the first; the second shows that order is impossible without a first principle of that order; the third shows that potentiality is impossible unless it is reduced to a prior actuality; the first should show that multitude is impossible unless it is reduced to a principle from which the multitude arose. Probably, therefore, it read originally: ‘non sit possibile multitudinem esse nisi reducatur ad multitudinem principians.’ A grammatically-minded scribe (either the scribe of *A* or one preceding in his tradition) might have remarked that *multitudinem* and *principians* did not agree and substituted *principiantem*. Then a philosophically-minded scribe (*B* or a predecessor) might have remarked that the reading made no sense and then probably substituted *actum* for *multitudinem*. Whatever the conjectural history of the changes, the reading of *A* is impossible, that of *B* possible, though not perfectly satisfactory. Again, it is difficult to know what ‘Ideo fere (!) vocatur genus materia’ (p. 50, l. 23) could mean, but since genus was called matter to its species very frequently in mediaeval discussions, the footnote reading of *B* — *sepe* for *fere* — is obviously correct. Again, the text runs (p. 59, ll. 24–28),

‘Tercio patet quod non obest enti (!) univocari quoad aliqua que illis inexistunt’ quamvis quoad alia sint multum equivoca vel analogia, ut esse album, simile, usum (!) durans vel compositum competit tam substancie quam quantitati satis univoce.’

Unless *enti* is read *encia* (with *B*) there is no reason why *illis* and *sint* should be plural. And *usum* could not be predicated univocally, though analogically, of substance and of quantity, whereas *visum* (the reading of *B*, relegated to a footnote) could be. Again, the passage (p. 53, ll. 21–23) which follows is stated as a sophism: ‘Hec omnis noticia vel sciencia est cogniti vel scibilis sciencia, quamvis sit ad aliquid capiens suam speciem et condiciones ab objecto,’ and Wyclif thanks God that he has been liberated from that opinion. Yet as it stands Wyclif would hold that it is a true proposition (though there would be no reason in this form for *quamvis* as conjunction to the subordinate clause); obviously *nec* (the reading of *B*) must be substituted for *hec*.

These few instances are only some of the places in which the reading followed, that of *A*, is impossible. The list could be lengthened considerably, and if one were to add to it the places in which the reading of *B* is preferable, though *A* is not impossible, it is probable that the greater number of the *B* readings would be raised from the footnotes to the text. Rather more important, however, than the relative value of the two manuscripts are the confusions, usually accentuated by strange punctuation, which are permitted to stand unresolved, even when one of the manuscripts offers the materials for their solution. Thus the sentence (p. 44, ll. 3-6): 'Et ad illum sensum dicitur aliquid, id est aliquod, quod est transcendens,' is open to two interpretations, neither of which is possible in the above punctuation; as it stands it makes philosophical nonsense. Scribe *A* seems to have intended: 'Et ad illum sensum dicitur aliquid (id est, aliquod quod est) transcendens . . .' The reading of *B* makes it seem that the editor and the scribe of *A* are conspiring to give grammatical respectability to a logical distinction and a bit of etymology. His version would read: 'Et ad istum sensum dicitur, "aliquid, id est aliquod quid, est transcendens" . . .' that is, *aliquid* is a transcendental (see below for the editor's confusions concerning this term) because it is a *being* or *something which is (ens)* in such wise that it is not *something which is not*, that is, it is *aliquid quid*, some quiddity, or 'some what.' The choice, in any case, is between these two readings; the one which appears in the text can not stand. And incidentally, on the same page (p. 44, l. 8) the word *verbum* appears with no variant reading noted; even without manuscript authority, however, it must read *unum*. The statement is that it is absolutely necessary to call God, and especially God the Father, *verbum*, but the reason given — *cum non est in eo est et non* — is the *indivisio affirmacionis et negacionis* given a few lines above as the definition of *unum*. Moreover, the discussion is of the transcendentals *unum*, *verum*, and *bonum*; *verbum* has no place in the list, just as it makes no sense in the sentence.

Sometimes the transformation to intelligibility is effected by a change in punctuation alone. For example, some device should be used in the expression (p. 1, ll. 15-16): 'cum cognicio et sciencia, si res est, sit prima possibilis,' to make clear that the *si res est* is the *sciencia* in question; the clause could be enclosed in inverted commas. Sometimes, however, neither punctuation nor the variant reading will save the sense; occasionally (as in the case of *verbum* above) the context will supply the hint, but there remain passages which give only vague indications of what their true form should have been. The context, however, makes clear that 'Supponitur autem pro re quando distincte intenditur illam rem affirmari vel negari de apposito (!), ut negacio (!) intendit per hoc: punctus multiplicatur ubique quod singularis punctus, set communis multiplicatur' (p. 23, ll. 17-20), is nonsense.

No variant reading is suggested for *apposito*, but it must be *opposito*. *Nemo* (the reading of *B*) should be substituted for *negacio*. Again, the expression *postem et proposicionem* (p. 37, l. 28) can not stand; it is difficult to be sure what the reading should have been, but honesty in editing would have required at least that some device be used to indicate that this reading is meaningless; one possibility is that *postem* may be an abbreviation for *positionem*, a current translation of the Aristotelian *θέσις*. Again (p. 95, l. 24) *mtalis predicacio* must be *materialis predicacio*: indeed the expression reappears in this form on page 98, line 8.

These confusions and others like them indicate that the editor is unfamiliar with Aristotle and the tradition of logical discussions in the Middle Ages. This is unmistakably apparent in his treatment of quotations. He says (p. xix), 'In some cases it is possible to give the indication to the Bekker 1831 folio. As we should expect, occasional references are vague, or so paraphrased as to be unrecognizable in the original Greek.' Why this should have been expected is not clear: Wyclif's citations of Aristotle are neat and precise; unlike many of his contemporaries, he usually has one passage in mind, and his indications of it are recognizable; finally, the Latin versions he used are recognizable translations of the Greek. Even more, he uses tags and phrases of traditional distinctions which might have been traced to their source in Aristotle; Dr Thomson, however, attempts to identify only the passages in which the author quotes a specific book of a specific work, and with distressing frequency his identification is wrong. Thus, on page 31 (ll. 24-29) Wyclif quotes Aristotle as saying in the *Categories* that a proposition is true if the thing which it signifies primarily is, false if it signifies primarily a thing which is not; this is referred by footnote to *Tract. I, cap. v* (2^a) which is concerned with the enumeration of the categories (!) instead of to *Tract III, cap. xii* (13^b 26-33), where Aristotle makes precisely the statement Wyclif attributes to him. Again Aristotle is quoted (p. 62, ll. 20-21) as saying in the *Περί Ἑρμηνείας* that nouns (*nomina*) can be imposed on things *ad placitum*; the editor corrects this reference by citing Chapter I of the *Categories*, where equivocal, univocal, and derivative words are discussed, but there is nothing there, relative to Wyclif's statement. Wyclif had in mind *Περί Ἑρμηνείας* cap. ii (16^a 19), where Aristotle does say: 'nomen igitur est vox significativa secundum placitum.' Again, on page 11 (ll. 7-8) Wyclif quotes Aristotle: 'quicquid enim hoc (?) didicerit cognoscit prius in communi ex primo *Posteriorum*.' This is referred to *Post. I cap. viii* (75^b) evidently for no better reason than that that chapter has the heading in the Junta edition: *Demonstrationem non constare ex communibus* (which, if it had any relevance, would negate the point of the quotation); fortunately it is a question of learning, not of demonstration, and the reference is to the famous opening lines of Part I of the *Posterior Analytics*:

'omnis doctrina et omnis disciplina discursiva ex praeeistente fit in cognitione.' Again, on page 46 (l.7), Aristotle is quoted in support of the position that second substances are predicated of their singulars and are wherever they are and eternal and incorruptible; the footnote refers to *Post.* I, cap. vii (which shows that the conclusion of a demonstration is perpetual) instead of *Post.* I, cap. iv, where the subject is discussed (particularly 73^b 25-35). And incidentally the word *supple* (p. 46, l. 6) seems to be a copyist's or a commentator's note; in any event it has no place in the text. But lest the list of instances grow too long, it may be stated briefly that the following references are similarly incorrect: notes 1 and 2 of page 59, note 1 of page 60, note 2 of page 86. Note 1 of page 96, note 1 of page 97, and note 1 of page 106 refer to the Latin translation but not to the Greek. The reference to the *De Priori* (p. 53, ll. 1-2) should be to the *Categories* and not to the *Metaphysics*: there is nothing in the chapter on priority and posteriority in the *Metaphysics* relevant to Wyclif's argument, while the *Categories* are precisely relevant (to say nothing of the fact that the title commonly refers to the treatise in the *Categories*). This instance, indeed, may be used as an example of the precision with which Wyclif quotes; his argument is: 'Si igitur naturaliter "a" signat hominem esse quam istum hominem esse est dare gradum significationis.' His citation of Aristotle is for a *regula* by which this may be shown to be so; and indeed Aristotle says, under the discussion of the last type of priority: 'Esse namque hominem, secundum essentialia consequentiam, ad veram de se convertitur orationem.' There is usually no need to cite whole chapters to locate the passage Wyclif has in mind; it is generally a phrase or a few sentences. One need not therefore list the footnotes in which Dr Thomson cites two or three folios or an entire chapter, when he might have referred more economically. Finally, the citation of Grosseteste (p. 104, n. 2), which Dr Thomson was unable to examine, is ambiguous as it stands: *Summa super VIII libros Physicorum Aristotelis cum expositione Sancte Thomae*; Thomas did not write a commentary on Grosseteste, but his *Expositio super libros Physicorum Aristotelis* was frequently printed with the *Summa* of Grosseteste.

Such a variety of slips can be taken as evidence that the editor has read his text without understanding it too clearly and without knowing the literature of which it is a part. The text is, indeed, preceded by a sixteen page statement of its *Argument*, which confirms the inference by presenting a grim parody of the subtle dialectic of Wyclif. In the *Argument*, one has the diagnosis of the confusions of the text. Thus the first tractate, *De Ente in Communi*, is naturally concerned with the transcendentals. The editor has trouble with the word *transcendens*; it seems to have a post-Kantian or at least a mystico-metaphysical connotation for him (as *passion* seems to have a romantic connotation); when rendered at all *transcendens* appears as

universal! These transcendentals, however, are logical transcendentals; they are terms which fall under no category, but accord with all ten of the categories; nothing is found in the nature of things of which they can not be predicated. Wyclif is concerned with the six transcendentals: *res, ens, verum, bonum, aliquid, unum* (frequently called *reubau* from their initial letters). Clearly, then, if Dr Thomson wishes to follow his tendency to capitalize Being, he should capitalize Something and Thing as well as the other three, since they are predicated convertibly of each other.

The best illustration of the confusions of the *Argument* can be given by paraphrasing some passages of the treatise and contrasting them with the *Argument*. On pages 43-44, Wyclif sums up the relations of the transcendentals to each other. The six transcendentals, he says, are the same in fact: *that which is, thing, and something* are one analogically, and they are the basis of three passions, namely, *one, true, and good*. He then proceeds to show the relation of the remaining five transcendentals to that which is (*ens*). *That which is* is most simple of apprehension; it can be added to in two ways (1) by specifying subjective parts (that is, the logical differentiations which fall under it), as rational, the differentia of man, is added to the species animal; (2) by adding quidditative parts, that is, as a whole universal may be added to that which is. (Incidentally *transcendentis* — p. 43, l. 8 — should read *transcendente*). *Something* adds to that which is in the first way but not in the second, that is, as any predicate adds to that which is. Conceived privatively, that which is is *one*, unity being a passion which that which is has from the unity of God, particularly God the Father. In the second way, that which is is conceived as knowable by the intellect, or as *thing* (*res* being derived from *reor* or *ratum*); its passion, the *true*, corresponds to the Son. Finally, since that which is can not be unless it has a beauty of order, it has the third passion, *good*, corresponding to the Holy Spirit. The argument is closely packed and full of the tradition of the discussion in which the distinctions had long been made; needless to say it is therefore technical and difficult. Following is Dr Thomson's paraphrase of the two pages (p. xxvi),

'As Being is the most simple possible concept it serves as the basis of additional differences or species. But these new or additional parts can be only subjective, they cannot be quidditative [*sic*]. Unity, that is, the lack of division by the logical processes of affirmation and negation, is a passion of Being by which anything is said to be one. The universal (*transcendens*) has the passion of unity from the unity of God the Father, the passion of truth from the Son and the passion of order or goodness from the Holy Spirit.'

Apart from the fact that such a statement takes all the logical significance from the position, it contains several misstatements. Properly speaking, the five transcendentals are not species of *ens* (they are predicated convertibly

of it), and therefore they have no proper differentiae under it. In the second place, Wyclif does not say that the parts must be subjective, that they can not be quidditative: he says that these are the two ways in which something can be superadded to that which is — the first gives *aliquid*; the second is not impossible, it is the *secundo modo* referred to on page 44 (l. 9), and yields *res*. The rest of the statement is as adequate as a verbal statement without the backbone of the distinction can be.

Or again, Wyclif takes as his first principle that that which is is (*ens esse*). (This incidentally is closely associated with the definition of truth in the Aristotelian tradition: the definition of *ens* is *id quod est*; that of truth is the affirmation *id quod est esse* or the negation *id quod non est non esse*). This principle can not be proved nor ignored by any knowing being; *that which is* is the minimum that can be known of anything, and therefore the first possible knowledge. But it occurs to Wyclif that Aristotelians will object (objection 3, p. 3, ll. 2 ff) that the first principle is that which is known *per se* first, and that principle is the principle of contradiction — *nichil simul esse et non esse*. He replies (p. 9, ll. 16 ff) that the being of that which is (*ens esse*) is better known than that negative principle, for the negation itself is something which is, and moreover it is assented to only because it states the contradiction between being and not being, the knowledge of which presupposes the knowledge and definition of being. This is an excellently stated argument in Wyclif; it appears in the *Introduction* as follows (pp. xx-xxi),

'Let us suppose Being to exist. No knowing subject can know that anything is without having a knowledge of the existence of the transcendent of the Being of that thing, that is, Being. . . . If it further be objected to our definition, i.e. the identity of Knowledge and Being, that a negation may be known before an affirmation and may thus be the principle of knowledge, it is replied: *non sequitur*. A negation may have Being, but it is only by contrariety, *propter repugnanciam*, which presupposes a knowledge of the positive Being.'

The details need not be analysed to show that a fine logical distinction has been made into arrant nonsense, but it must be protested that the relation of *ens* to *esse* is not the relation of *being* to *existence*, as Wyclif himself makes abundantly clear.

The *Argument* of Tractate II mangles Wyclif's doctrine as badly as that of Tractate I. On page 79 (ll. 4 ff), for example, Wyclif gives an accurate statement of the Anselmian argument for the existence of God. He has arrived at a nominal description of God: *that than which a better can not be*, which recalls him to the argument of Anselm (though Anselm, without Wyclif's preliminary arguments, would have said *that than which a better can not be conceived*). Anselm inquired, Wyclif points out, whether God is in intellect alone or in fact as well as in intellect. His argument is that if God

were only in intellect, then that which is in fact as well as in intellect would be better, and therefore by definition God is in fact. In the Introduction (p. xxx) the argument is transformed to *Anselm equates God and the highest good, and shows how it is better that this good exist both actually (in re) and in our understanding.*

In a word, finally, this edition is one more illustration of the truth that palaeography and philology are not sufficient equipment for the editing of philosophical texts. There is evidence that Dr Thomson expended every care on the preparation of his edition, but it is equally clear that he had neither an understanding of what Wyclif is saying nor an acquaintance with the literature in which Wyclif was steeped. That he should have prepared so good a text under the circumstances is testimony to his diligence. But there should be in his work warning for future editors: he himself promises, in his *Introduction*, further editions of the *Tractates* of Wyclif. It is to be hoped that he will repeat his service to the learned world by bringing out more of Wyclif; but it is further to be hoped that he will recognize that it is not impossible to find the means by which to insure that his text make sense.

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R. TRAUTMANN, *Die Altrussische Nestorchronik in Übersetzung herausgegeben*. Leipzig: Markert & Peters, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xxii+302, and 1 map.

IT HAS been a matter of regret that, since the death of A. A. Shakhmatov, for years the chief investigator of Russian annalistic literature, Slavic philologists have devoted comparatively little attention to this extremely fruitful field and have failed to take any steps toward either confirming or refuting the numerous highly subjective hypotheses for which Shakhmatov's dominant reputation has long secured at least tacit acceptance. The only scholar of recognized standing to protest against Shakhmatov's 'Unmenge von Redaktionen' and 'ausschweifende Kombinationen' has heretofore been that Nestor of Slavic philologists, Professor Alexander Brückner, who has repeatedly raised his voice against the 'echt nihilistische Zerstörung' of the text of the *Primary Chronicle* (conventionally referred to as the *Povest Vremennykh Let*) which Shakhmatov's theory has entailed. This great literary monument, composed (as far as internal evidence indicates) toward the end of the eleventh century and brought to a close by its compiler shortly after 1113, appears in two basic redactions, of which the earliest representatives are one text of 1377 (the Laurentian) and another of ca. 1450 (the Hypatian). It also figures in various modified and frequently abbreviated aspects as a component of numerous local annals in manuscripts of diverse age and provenience, in one of which (the so-called *Sinodalnaya*), the earliest hand

goes back to the early thirteenth century. It is probable that we have no text or redaction which presents the *Primary Chronicle* precisely as the original compiler prepared it. Discrepancies are evident in both the Laurentian and the Hypatian redactions, and this fact, together with the divergencies between these basic texts and the other aspects in which the *Povest* occurs, led Shakhmatov and other investigators to the assumption that it is derived from various earlier annalistic works which Shakhmatov endeavored to reconstruct. The authorship of the *Povest* was long attributed to Nestor, a monk of the historic Crypt Monastery at Kiev toward the close of the eleventh century. The *Povest* itself, however, contains certain statements which make the Nestorian authorship at least highly improbable. In view of the extremely complex problems thus associated with the *Primary Chronicle*, which is an historical source of inestimable value, it is particularly gratifying that the Soviet Academy of Sciences should have brought out diplomatic reproductions of the Laurentian and Hypatian texts, to which Professor Trautmann has now added a German translation which will doubtless prove a valuable tool in the hands of every student of early Russian literature and history, entirely superseding the French translation of L. Leger (Paris, 1884).¹

In his able introduction, Professor Trautmann fortunately maintains an attitude of reserve toward the theories of his Russian predecessors, and regards the *Povest* 'in der uns überlieferten Gesamtgestalt als einheitliche, von einer bestimmten Persönlichkeit gewollte Schöpfung,' though he admits that a considerable variety of sources has been woven into the text. The justice of this admission is apparent even to the cursory reader, in view of readily discernible selections from Greek chronicles, items of local folklore, excerpts from official documents, quotations from sermons and saints' lives, and even bits of personal narrative which supplement such observations as the compiler was able to collect himself during the half-century in which his contact with official life in Kiev appears to have been intimate. Professor Trautmann is at one with practically all other students of the *Povest* in refusing to admit the colophon in the Laurentian text under 1116 as proof that Silvester, Prior of St Michael's, was the author; all this colophon indicates is that Silvester made a copy in 1116 and therefore that the textual tradition of the Laurentian codex to that point represents substantially the state of the text at that juncture (except for the *Testament* of Vladimir Monomach interpolated under 1096, and possibly a few other items of less importance). The translator is equally reserved with regard to the author-

¹ Professor Trautmann's text, together with my own translation of the *Primary Chronicle* and extensive introduction (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930) together present for the first time in any western language an inclusive summary of the problems connected with this source.

ship of Nestor. I agree with Trautmann that Nestor's connection with the *Chronicle* 'ist deutlich nicht zu erweisen,' but cannot follow him in the opinion that 'auch nichts Entscheidendes dagegen spricht.' If the *Povest* is accepted as an 'einheitliche Schöpfung,' it is practically impossible not to identify the author of the sections treating the Crypt Monastery and St Theodosius with the compiler himself. The writer of these sections states categorically under 1051 that he joined the monastery at the age of seventeen while Theodosius was still prior. Nestor, on the contrary, in his own *Life of Theodosius*, admits that he did not know Theodosius personally, but was admitted to the order by Stephen, who succeeded the great Prior in 1074. The discrepancy between these two statements cannot be reconciled without recourse to hypotheses which Trautmann himself would evidently be the last to approve in view of his pointed remark that 'die Annahme von Zwischenformen und das Zerschlagen [der *Chronik*] in hundert oder auch in tausend Stücke ist lediglich von der Spieleidenschaft und dem Temperament des Forschers abhängig.'

With propriety, Professor Trautmann notes the reaction of nascent nationalism toward deprecation and even concealment of the numerous contacts between the principality of Kiev and the Catholic west. Marriages with Polish or Hungarian princes are occasionally mentioned, but the unhappy union of Vsevolod's daughter Eupraxia-Adelheid with Henry IV, the marriage of Anna Yaroslavna with Henry I of France, the Swedish origin of Yaroslav's wife Ingigerðr-Irene, and the various imperial and papal embassies are passed over by the Chronicler in utter silence. Records of early relations with Scandinavia, some of the details of which are happily preserved in the Norse Sagas, are reduced to a minimum. A notable section of the Introduction is also devoted by Professor Trautmann to an appreciation of the *Testament* of Vladimir Monomach; while not impossible, it is by no means as certain as Professor Trautmann indicates that the scribe of the Laurentian codex was responsible for its interpolation.

In view of the numerous errors in the Laurentian redaction, Professor Trautman is entirely justified in pursuing an eclectic policy on the basis of the variants in the Hypatian, Radziwill, Academičeski, and Troitzki codices. This procedure must, however, be employed with judgment, as one example will indicate. *Laur.* col. 142 (*ad* 1016) reads: 'i by togda Jaroslav Novëgorodë let 28 (Yaroslav had then been in Novgorod 28 years).' Trautmann prefers the reading of *HRA*: 'bě že togda Jaroslav lët 28 (damals war Jaroslav 28 Jahre alt).' As the *Povest* notes under 1054, Yaroslav died in that year at the age of 76; he was therefore born in 978, and was thus 38 years old (not 28) in 1016. The figure 28 actually refers to the length of his sojourn in Novgorod, to which he was transferred (at an early age, to be sure) from Rostov after the death of his oldest half-brother Vysheslav. *L*

is therefore right, and *HRA* wrong. I note also what is doubtless a printer's error, the repeated use of *Indikationsjahr* for *Indiktionsjahr*, as well as the erroneous statement (p. 239) that 'die Thronbesteigung Kaiser Michaela III erfolgte 860'; Michael actually came to the throne January 21, 842. On the whole, Professor Trautmann's translation testifies to his remarkably careful study and accurate knowledge of the text; I regret, however, that he contented himself with only brief comments on the theories of Shakhmatov and Istrin, which must be subjected to the most rigid verification before it can be claimed that our knowledge of the *Povest* is registering any appreciable progress.

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H. WEGENER, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Deutschen Bilderhandschriften des späten Mittelalters in der Heidelberger Universitäts-Bibliothek*. Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1927. Cloth. Pp. vii+118.

H. WEGENER, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen und des Initialschmuckes in den Deutschen Handschriften bis 1500*. Band v, Miniaturhandschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek (Berlin). Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1928. Pp. vii+182.

AFTER Adolf von Oechelhäuser had treated the manuscripts of the early Middle Ages and two important later manuscripts of the Heidelberg University Library, *Der wälsche Gast* (*Pal. Germ.* 389), and 'Die grosse Heidelberger (Manesse'sche) Liederhandschrift' (*Pal. Germ.* 848), in the two parts of his *Miniaturen der Universitätsbibliothek zu Heidelberg*, Hans Wegener has now undertaken a descriptive catalogue of the 78 remaining German illuminated manuscripts of the *Bibliotheca Palatina* from the beginning of the fourteenth to the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Of these only the two *Geomantiebücher* can be considered splendid examples of manuscript illumination comparable to French codices of the same period. The earlier of these two, (*Pal. Germ.* 832), of Bavarian origin, ca. 1490, has a fine astronomical chart and a large number of miniatures; the later, (*Pal. Germ.* 833), is a copy of the earlier manuscript, made at the command of Pfalzgraf Otto Heinrich by Albrecht Glockendon the Younger in 1557. A small number of the other manuscripts were also prepared by special command, but most of them are merely examples of the bourgeois art of the time; in part, however, of careful workmanship and rather high artistic quality. Very well represented are the courtpics of the Middle Ages; *Flore und Blancheflor*, *Lanzelot*, *Parzival*, *Tristan*, the *Eneide* of Heinrich von Veldeke, the *Renner* of Hugo von Trimberg; ecclesiastical works are less common, books of prayers altogether lacking.

The compiler's treatment of these manuscripts is exemplary. Compelled to avoid detailed description because of the large number of illustrations,

he has, nevertheless, included all the material of iconographic importance. He has given exact information as to the manner of representation employed by the various illustrators, using a simplified terminology of his own manufacture; and most important of all, on the basis of the style of the illustrations, the dialect of the text, and the costume of the figures, he has tried to arrange the manuscripts according to provenience and chronology. Doubtless minor revisions of his arrangement may have to be undertaken by scholars from time to time. Without challenging any of his results, in this brief review, we may commend him for his rather original method of procedure in cataloging illuminated manuscripts of the late Middle Ages, and praise his publishers for the handsome reproductions and the clearly typed text of this imposing volume, which is, in every respect, worthy of the important matter it presents.

Employing the same method and manner of presentation as in his earlier volume on the Heidelberg manuscripts, Wegener also treats the miniatures and initials of the German manuscripts of the Prussian State Library of Berlin up to 1500. Most of these belong to the fifteenth, a few to the fourteenth and three to the thirteenth century. As most of these manuscripts were assembled in Berlin during the nineteenth century, the collection is not only rich but extremely varied, representing almost all of the German speaking territory between Flanders, Switzerland, Styria, and the Baltic provinces. This circumstance makes determination of the provenience of the manuscripts extremely difficult, and renders necessary a division of them into two large groups. Of these, the first treats the upper and middle German manuscripts, the second, the low German and Dutch. The dividing line, drawn approximately between Mainz and Leipzig, is determined less by dialectic than by stylistic considerations. Within these groups the arrangement of manuscripts is primarily chronological, only secondarily local.

As Hermann Degering has prepared a *Kurzes Verzeichnis der germanischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek* in three volumes from the literary and philological point of view, Wegener can restrict himself in his descriptive catalogue to the illustrations of the manuscripts, the initials, and miniatures. These are treated in the same original and masterful manner which he established as his method in his earlier work on the late manuscripts of the Heidelberg Library. There are brief indications on individual pictures, pertinent comments on the style and technique of the different illustrators, who are represented by their most typical rather than by their most artistic performances. The reproductions are numerous and excellent. The work takes its important place as one of the six contemplated volumes, which are to catalogue all of the occidental manuscripts of the

Berlin Library, and as a valuable contribution to the still unwritten history of book illustration in the fifteenth century.

ARTHUR BURKHARD,
Harvard University

WILHELM WEINBERGER, *Wegweiser durch die Sammlungen altphilologischer Handschriften* (*Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Vol. CCIX, Abh. 4). Vienna Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1930. Paper. Pp. 136.

IN 1902, with the encouragement of August Engelbrecht, Professor Weinberger prepared, for the special needs of editors in the series *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, a most useful *Catalogus Catalogorum*, which contained a list of the catalogues of all modern libraries of any note that contain manuscripts. Hitherto the most serviceable list of this sort was contained in the *Catalogue alphabétique des livres imprimés mis à la disposition des lecteurs dans la salle de travail du département des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, compiled by M. Omont and blessed by many a worker in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The present affair is intended primarily for the classical scholar, as Professor Weinberger's first volume was intended for editors of patristic texts. In both cases the achievement far outran the title. A library containing works of the Fathers generally has at least a few works of the Pagans, and where the latter are found, the former will be even more abundant. The *Wegweiser* has other features, too. It opens with an introduction in which much is said in brief space on the transmission of Classical works both Greek and Latin. A general bibliography is succeeded by the main body of the work, a list of names of places, not only of libraries, but of scholars and collectors. In every case where the information is available, the name is followed by a list of the places or of the owners whence manuscripts came to the library in question. Thus there are 84 such entries under the Staatsbibliothek of Munich, and over 250 under the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. Nor do private libraries, including those in our own country, fail to be thus analyzed. Under the Pierpont Morgan Library of New York, 23 sources are mentioned, and four of those whence the treasures of G. A. Plimpton, Esq. are derived. Bibliographical notes are constantly tucked in, and cross-references are numerous. I look for Oswego and find it, with the appropriate reference to the Pierpont Morgan Library. No word is wasted in this book. A modest compass suffices for an amazing amount of information. No scholar who works at all with manuscripts can afford to be without this estimable work.

E. K. RAND,
Harvard University

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading SPECULUM will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as soon as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

- H. E. Allen, ed., *English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1931. Cloth Pp. lxiv+180. \$2.50.
- P. S. Allen, *Mediaeval Latin Lyrics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. viii+341. \$4.00.
- H. Balzli, ed., *Vokabularien im Cod. Salernitanus der Breslauer Stadtbibliothek (No. 1302) und in einer Münchener Hs. (Lat. 4622), beide aus dem XIIten Jhdt. (Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin, Heft 21)*. Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1931. Paper. Pp. 64.
- E. S. Bradley, *Henry Charles Lea, a Biography*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. 391. \$5.00.
- C. R. Cheney, *Episcopal Visitation of Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century*. Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. vi+190. £0/10/6.
- G. Cohen, *Chrétien de Troyes et son Oeuvre*. Paris: Boivin, 1931. Paper. Pp. 513. Frs. 60.
- G. Cohen, *Le Théâtre en France au Moyen Age; II, Le Théâtre Profane*. Paris: Boivin, 1931. Paper. Pp. 107+lx plates. Frs. 25.
- M. D. Diederich, *Vergil in the Works of St Ambrose (Catholic University Patristic Studies, xxix)*. Washington: Catholic University of America, 1931. Paper. Pp. xiii+130. \$3.00.
- W. J. Entwistle, ed., *The Year's Work in Modern Language Studies*. Vol. I. New York: Oxford University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xii+194. \$2.25.
- J. Evans, *Monastic Life at Cluny*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xviii+137. \$5.00.
- H. G. Farmer, *The Organ of the Ancients from Ancient Sources*. London: W. Reeves, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xi+185. £0/15/6.
- M. M. Getty, *The Life of the Northern Africans as Revealed in the Sermons of St Augustine (Catholic University Patristic Studies, xxxiii)*. Washington: Catholic University of America, 1931. Paper. Pp. xv+158. \$3.00.
- F. Ghisalberti, *Le Chiose Virgiliane di Benvenuto da Imola*. Mantua: Reale Accademia Virgiliana, 1930. Paper. Pp. 77.
- I. Gollancz, ed., *A Good Short Debate Between Winner and Waster (1352)*. London: Oxford University Press, 1931. Paper.
- M. Grabmann, *Der Lateinische Averroismus des 13ten Jhdts. und seine Stellung zur Christlichen Weltanschauung. (Sitz.-Ber. d. Bayer. Ak. d. Wiss., 1931, Heft 2.)* Munich, 1931. Paper. Pp. 86.
- M. Grabmann, *Die Werke des hl. Thomas von Aquin, eine literarhistorische Untersuchung und Einführung (2te vermehrte Aufl.)*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1931. Paper. Pp. xv+372. RM. 19.40.
- F. Güterbock, ed., *Ottonis Morenae et Continuatorum Historia Frederici I (Mon. Germ. Hist., n.s., tom./vii)*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1931. Paper. Pp. xlv+244. RM. 18.
- F. A. Heinichen et al., *Lateinisch-deutsches Schulwörterbuch, Ausgabe mit Berücksichtigung ausgewählter mittellateinischer Schriftsteller (10te Aufl. des ursprüngl. Werkes)*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1931. Cloth. Pp. li+646. RM. 14.
- W. Heuser and F. A. Foster, edd., *The Northern Passion (Supplement)*. London: Oxford University Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. x+142. £0/7/6.

- E. J. Holmyard, *Makers of Chemistry*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. x+314. \$2.50.
- W. Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England: Bibliotheken und Archive in London, 1, Berichte und Handschriftenbeschreibungen: II, Texte (Abh. der Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist., Kl., n. F., xxv, 1-2)*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1930-1931. Paper. Pp. 658.
- M. R. James and C. Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS in the Library of Lambeth Palace, Pt. II, pp. 161-320*. New York: Macmillan (Cambridge University Press), 1931. Paper. \$4.25.
- P. J. Ketrick, *The Relation of Golagros and Gawane to the Old-French Perceval* (diss.). Washington: Catholic University of America, 1931. Paper. Pp. 131.
- G. P. Krapp, *The Junius Manuscript*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. lviii+247. \$4.00.
- G. Laehr, *Die Anfänge des russischen Staates*. Berlin: Ebering, 1930. Cloth. Pp. 145.
- C. A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*. Cambridge: at the University Press; New York: Macmillan, 1930. Cloth. Pp. 241. \$6.00.
- J. Olrik and H. Roeder, recognov. et edd., *Saxonis Gesta Danorum primum a C. Knabe et P. Herrmann recensita. Vol. I (Text)*. Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1931. Cloth. Pp. li+609.
- J. J. Parry, ed., *A Bibliography of Critical Arthurian Literature for the Years 1922-1929. Vol. I*. New York: Modern Language Association, 1931. Paper. Pp. iii+59.
- A. Pelzer, ed., *Bibliotheca Apostolicae Vaticanae Codd. MSS Recensiti Iuszu Pii XI P.M.: Codd. Vaticani Latini, II, 1 (Codd. 679-1134)*. Rome: Vatican Library, 1931. Paper. Pp. xxxi+775.
- H. Pirenne, A Renaudet, E. Perroy, M. Handelsman, L. Halphen, *La Fin du Moyen-Age (L'Annonce des Temps Nouveaux, 1453-1492)*. Paris: Alcan, 1931. Paper. Pp. 324. Frs. 35.
- R. Priebsch, ed., *Johan úz dem Virgiere, eine spätmhd. Ritterdichtung nach flämischer Quelle nebst dem Faksimileabdruck des flämischen Volksbuchs Joncker Jan wt den Vergière (Germ. Bibl., Abt. II, 32)*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1931. Paper. Pp. 144+56 in facsimile. RM. 10.
- P. Sabatier, *Vie de S. François d'Assise* (édit. définitive). Paris: Fischbacher, 1931. Paper. Pp. li+577. Frs. 50.
- P. Sabatier, ed., *Le Speculum Perfectionis, II, Etude critique avec Introduction par A. G. Little*. Manchester, Eng.; Manchester University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xxxvi+278.
- L. F. Salzmänn, *English Trade in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xii+456. \$4.50.
- H. A. Sanders, ed., *Beati in Apocalipsin Libri XII* (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, VII). Rome: American Academy, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xxiv+657.
- E. Studer, *Russisches in der Thidreksaga (Sprache u. Dichtung, Heft 46)*. Bern: P. Haupt, 1931. Paper. Pp. 119. Frs. Sw. 4.80.
- R. Thurneysen, *Irishes Recht: I. Dire, ein altirischer Rechtstext; II, Zu den unteren Ständen in Irland (Abh. der Preuss. Akad. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., 1931, 2)*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1931. Paper. Pp. 90. RM. 19.
- C. H. Turner, ed., *The Oldest MS. of the Vulgate Gospels, Deciphered and Edited with an Introduction and Appendix*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. lxiii+218. \$7.00.
- T. Walton, ed., *Le Doctrinal du Temps Present de Pierre Michaut (1466)*. Paris: E. Droz, 1931. Paper. Pp. cii+217.
- S. D. Wingate, *The Mediaeval Latin Versions of the Aristotelian Corpus, with Special Reference to the Biological Works*. London: The Courier Press, 1931. Paper. Pp. 136.

ANNOUNCEMENT

The following articles are scheduled for early appearance in *Speculum*:

K. J. CONANT, 'The Apse at Cluny.'

A. G. BAUGH, 'Osbert of Claire and the Middle English *Saint Anne* in Rime Royal.'

DINO BIGONGIARI, 'Notes on the Text of the *Defensor Pacis* of Marsilius of Padua.'

MARJORIE CARPENTER, 'The Paper that Romanos Swallowed.'

C. W. DAVID, 'The Authorship of the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*.'

R. W. LLOYD, 'Cluny Epigraphy.'

J. H. MOZLEY, 'The Minor Poems of Nigel Wireker.'

GAINES POST, 'Masters' Salaries and Student-Fees in the Mediaeval Universities.'

H. G. RICHARDSON, 'A Norman Lawsuit.'

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